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THE RELATION OF THE ENGLISH CORPUS CHRISTI PLAY TO THE MIDDLE ENGLISH RELIGIOUS LYRIC

The historians of the English drama, in seeking to record its origin and development, have almost without exception failed to take notice of the Middle English religious lyric in its relation to the Corpus Christi plays. An occasional note, made at random from time to time, indicates, it is true, that certain writers have been aware that a relation of some sort exists between these two forms of Middle English literature. These notes, however, have for the most part concerned themselves with calling attention to very slight, though interesting, parallels. It is with such similarities, for example, that the observations of Wright,¹ Hone,² Courthope,³ E. Mall,⁴ and W. A. Craigie⁵ have had to do. Davidson,⁶ moreover, and Chambers⁷ have taken notice in a very general fashion of the fact that the plays are very considerably indebted to the great body of devotional poetry of the day; while Cook⁸ has called attention to the frequent occurrence of the *Testament of Christ* in Middle English literature.

One specific type of the mediaeval religious lyric, the *Planctus Mariae*, has for many years attracted considerable attention among

¹ *The Chester Plays*, Vol. II, p. 204 (Shakspeare Society, Vol. I).

² *Ancient Mysteries Described*, pp. 90 ff.

³ *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I, pp. 413 ff.

⁴ *The Harrowing of Hell*.

⁵ *An English Miscellany*, pp. 52 ff.

⁶ *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, p. 170.

⁷ *The Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. II, pp. 145 ff.

⁸ *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. 237 ff.

European scholars and its relation to the drama has been fairly clearly determined.¹ The other numerous lyric types, most of which, like the *planctus*, seem to have had their origin in the Latin,² and some of which, like the *planctus*, have spread through Europe, have been, so far as I can learn, almost entirely ignored. Taken collectively, these forms doubtless contributed far more extensively to the growth of the cyclic plays in Europe than did the *planctus*; and one of these types alone, *The Testament of Christ* or *The Complaint of Christ to his People*, probably had an effect, all but as important as that of the *planctus* itself, on the growth and expansion of the passion-play.

It was at the suggestion of Professor Manly that I began several years ago to investigate the relation of the general body of lyric poetry in Middle English to the Corpus Christi plays. The field proved fertile. Indeed, so numerous are the types of the lyric which have contributed to the formation of the Corpus Christi plays, and so numerous are the examples which go to make up certain of these types,³ that I found it necessary for the time being to limit the thoroughgoing investigation to one special type, the *Planctus Mariae*.⁴ From a general survey of the field, however, I have been able to arrive at results certain and definite enough to warrant some sort of a statement, and this paper will have attained its object if it succeeds in putting forward some of the more important of the types of the Middle English religious lyric upon which the writers and compilers of the miracle-plays have drawn most freely and extensively.

It will be unnecessary to enter here into an elaborate discussion of the meaning of the term "lyric;" but inasmuch as many of the poems to which reference will be made are not lyrical in any ordinary modern sense, it may be well to say that I have classed as

¹ For references, see "The English *Planctus Mariae*," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 605 ff. A thesis by Thien, *Über die englischen Marienklagen*, was published several months before my article on the *Planctus* appeared. My article, which had been in the hands of the editors of *Modern Philology* for almost two years, was being printed when I secured a copy of Thien's thesis.

² Unfortunately, during the last few months, *Analecta hymnica* (Dreves) has been inaccessible to me. It doubtless contains many other Latin prototypes of the Middle English lyrics than those which I cite in this paper.

³ *The Testament of Christ* and *The Hail Mary*.

⁴ See "The English *Planctus Mariae*," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 605 ff.

lyric any verse which either in metrical form or in emotional motive seemed in any sense to belong to the lyric categories. I have listed many prayers which are very slightly lyrical, if lyrical at all in any sense, and very occasionally I have paused to comment incidentally upon didactic types such as the *Ten Commandments*.

Perhaps the non-dramatic type most frequently incorporated into the plays is the general prayer addressed, as the occasion may serve, to God the Father, Christ the Son, and very frequently also to the Virgin Mary. There are thousands of these prayers to be found in the devotional poetry of the day, and hundreds in the plays.¹ It is fairly certain that many of these were taken over as ready-made lyrics by the play-writers and adapted to dramatic purposes. Thus the celebrated mediaeval Latin hymn, *Veni creator, spiritus*,² seems to have been taken over bodily by Chester in *The Emission of the Holy Ghost*,³ and probably has escaped notice up to the time, mainly because it is so abominably translated.⁴ Of the prayers to Christ⁵ two types especially have exerted a very marked and definite influence upon the drama. Of both types there are scores in Middle English literature. The one is

¹ *Chester Plays* (ed. Thomas Wright, Shaks. Soc., Vol. I), Vol. I, pp. 97, 162; Vol. II, pp. 159, 160, 179; *York Mystery Plays* (ed. Miss Lucy Toalmin Smith), pp. 3, 36, 61, 100, 108, 433; *The Towneley Plays* (ed. A. W. Pollard, EETS), pp. 3, 23, 40, 99, 195; *Coventry Mysteries* (ed. J. O. Halliwell, Shaks. Soc., Vol. II), pp. 40, 49, 57, 104, 380. For examples of prayers of a somewhat similar nature, see *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS* (EETS), Vol. I, pp. 28, 145, 149, 335; *An Old English Miscellany* (EETS), p. 100; *Religious Pieces* (EETS), p. 59; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. IX, p. 49; *Anglia*, Vol. I, p. 67; *Specimens of Lyric Poetry* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV), p. 49; *Richard Rolle of Hampole* (ed. Horstmann, "Yorkshire Writers"), Vol. I, pp. 363 ff.; *Bannatyne MS* (pr. for the Hunterian Club), Vol. I, pp. 84, 107.

² See *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* (Wackernagel), Vol. I, p. 75. See further, *Minor Poems of V. MS*, Vol. I, p. 43; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 241 ff.

³ *Chester*, Vol. II, pp. 127 ff. In the Hogge *Mary's Betrothment* (p. 93), the stage directions order the singing of this hymn, but the existing text does not contain it. In the *York Descent of the Holy Spirit* (p. 469), we are told that the angels sang this hymn to Mary.

⁴ See for dramatic customs in connection with the hymn, Chambers, *The Med. Stage*, Vol. II, p. 66. See for parallels, Appendix of the present discussion, pp. 16 f.

⁵ *Chester*, Vol. II, pp. 99, 101 ff.; *York*, pp. 177, 212, 363, 424 ff., 504; *Town.*, pp. 325 ff., 340 ff.; *Cov.*, pp. 223, 356, 403. For prayers to Christ of various kinds, see *Minor Poems of the V. MS*, Vol. I, pp. 37, 45, 48, 131 ff., 154, 332; Vol. II, 449, 451, 464 ff.; *Richard Rolle of Hampole* ("Yorkshire Writers"), Vol. I, pp. 72 ff., 363 ff.; *William of Shoreham* (EETS), pp. 79 ff.; *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* (Scot. T. Soc.), pp. 21, 24, 62, 64, 73 ff.; *The Poems of Dunbar*, Vol. II (Scot. T. Soc.), p. 65; *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, re-ed., Furnivall (EETS), pp. 123 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. V, Anzeiger, p. 119; Vol. XII, p. 595; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 255 ff.; Vol. X, pp. 232 ff.; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 129.

the prayer of a repentant sinner, lamenting his past offenses;¹ the other consists of that class of prayers in which the sufferings and bodily wounds of Jesus are recounted in detail as cause for lamentation.² No single motive in the devotional poetry of the day seems to have been turned to literary uses so frequently and no motive enables the writers of the time to rise to more fervid and more moving heights of lyric poetry. It would seem that this motive has been taken over from the *Testament of Christ* poems, which will be considered at some length below. An exceptionally conventional form of these lyrical prayers is characterized both in the plays and in the independent lyrics by the initial phrase "When I think."³ Another very conventional passage which occurs in these prayers to Jesus and has made its way from the lyric over to the drama is characterized by the constant repetition of the phrase "Mercy Jesus."⁴

Perhaps the most highly conventional of all the conventional forms of address to Christ is the *Hail Jesus*, a prayer in which oftentimes almost every line begins with this formula, followed by synonyms indicating in a fashion the different qualities and characteristics of the Savior. There are numerous examples of this

¹ *Chester*, Vol. II, pp. 6, 180 ff., 192 ff.; *York*, pp. 30 ff., 39, 138, 174, 311; *Town.*, pp. 343, 351 ff.; *Minor Poems of the V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 48 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 606, 785 ff.; *Rich. R. of Hampole*, Vol. I, pp. 74 ff., 368 ff.; *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems*, pp. 123 ff., *Hymns to V. and C.* (EETS), pp. 95 ff.; *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Vol. I, pp. 261 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 119 ff., 190 ff., 228; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 157, 160. The cries of lost souls who are being carried away to hell might very well be considered in connection with the prayers of the repentant sinners, but more fittingly deserve consideration in connection with the many lyrical poems which have found their way into the judgment-plays, which I consider below.

² In the plays these lyrics in the majority of cases are characterized by some one of the stanzas or lines beginning with the word "Alas!" Sometimes also this is the case with the independent lyrics. See further, *Chester*, Vol. II, pp. 53, 95, 101; *York*, pp. 260, 341 ff., 406 ff., 410, 421 ff., 456, 480 ff.; *Town.*, pp. 277, 316 ff., 325 ff., 358; *Cou.*, pp. 316, 331, 335 ff., 360; *Minor Poems of the V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 29, 37, 47, 302, 384, 404, 425 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 452 ff., 471 ff.; *Legends of the Holy Rood* (EETS), pp. 150, 194 ff., 217 ff., 222; *Rich. R. of Hampole*, Vol. I, pp. 76 ff., 369 ff.; *William of Shoreham's Poems* (EETS), pp. 79 ff.; *Spec. of Lyric Poetry* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV), pp. 62 ff., 83, 86, 111 ff.; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. VII, pp. 454, 468; Vol. IX, p. 45; *Anglia*, Vol. XII, pp. 595 ff.; Vol. XXVI, pp. 263 ff.; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 38, 140, 197; *The Bann. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 77, 85, 90, 103, 106. Especially interesting is the passage of this kind to be found in *The Lamentation of Mary Magdalene* (ed. Bertha M. Skeat), as the same kind of passage is so frequently put into her mouth in the miracle-plays. See further *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 121 ff., 131 ff., 392 ff.

³ *York*, p. 452, l. 116; *Town.*, pp. 316, 327, 328; *Spec. of Lyric Poetry* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV), p. 83; *Rich. R. of Hampole*, Vol. I, p. 78; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 415 ff. For parallels, see Appendix, pp. 17 f.

⁴ *York*, pp. 424, 489; *Town.*, p. 351; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, pp. 60 f. For parallel passages, see Appendix, pp. 29 f.

form in the drama; it appears most frequently in the Christmas plays and constitutes a very large portion of the body of the play in Chester, York, and Towneley.¹ It may possibly not be amiss to consider as variations of the above lyrical form the *Welcome* and *Farewell* lyrics sometimes addressed to Jesus, sometimes to Mary, in which "Welcome" or "Farewell" are substituted for "Hail;" they seem to be modeled throughout upon the *Hail* poems.² Very similar in form and general treatment to the *Hail Jesus* is the *Hail Mary*.³ Serving about the same purpose in the plays is the prayer which begins with "Come" instead of "Hail,"⁴ and which very probably belongs to the class of Latin lyrics represented by *Veni praeclsa domina*.⁵ The *Hail* lyrics and their variations may all have been the development of one line in the annunciation-lyrics, spoken by Gabriel, "Hail Mary."⁶

¹ *Chester*, Vol. I, pp. 140 ff., 167 ff.; *York*, pp. 114 ff., 135 ff., pp. 216 ff., 444 ff.; *Town.*, pp. 114 ff., 139 ff., 151 ff.; *Cov.*, pp. 158 ff., 168 ff. See also *Rich. R. of Hampole*, Vol. I, pp. 78 ff.; *Minor Poems of the V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 24 ff.; *Lydgate's Nightingale and Other Poems* (ed. Glauning, EETS), pp. 26 ff.; *The Bann. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 72 ff., 84 ff. See further, *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 156 ff. See Appendix, p. 18.

² The *Welcome* lyrics are to be found in *Chester*, Vol. I, pp. 194 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 2 ff.; *York*, pp. 443, 489; *Cov.*, pp. 176, 347; *The Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors* (Manly, *Pre-S. Dr.*), II, 699 ff. See also for this form of address applied to persons other than Christ, *The Digby Plays* (ed. Furnivall, EETS), pp. 18, 128. They are to be found as independent lyrics in *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* (Percy Soc., Vol. II), p. 10; *Christmas Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV), pp. 4, 53, 57; *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII), p. 43; *The Bann. MS.*, Vol. I, p. 255. The specimen printed in Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII, p. 43, suggests that this class of lyrics may have had its origin in some of the pagan Germanic folk-customs.

The *Farewell* lyrics are to be found in *Chester*, Vol. I, p. 171; *York*, pp. 447, 487; *Town.*, p. 203; *Cov.*, pp. 102, 143, 160, 347. See *The Lamentation of Mary Magdalene*, ed. Bertha M. Skeat. See also *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII), p. 57, and *The Bann. MS.*, Vol. II, pp. 645 ff., where it is used as a form of address to others than Christ. See for parallel passages, Appendix, pp. 19 ff.

³ *York*, pp. 473, 484 ff., 492; *Cov.*, pp. 176, 387, 389, 391; *Minor Poems of the V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 49 ff., 121 ff.; *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems* (1st ed., EETS), pp. 81 ff., 145 ff., 174 ff.; *Wm. of Shoreham* (EETS), pp. 127 ff.; *Hymns to V. and C.*, pp. 4 ff.; *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII), p. 80; *Chaucerian and Other Poems* (ed. Skeat), p. 275; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 174; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 164 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 321 ff.; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 183 ff. For the use of this lyric as a form of address to characters other than Christ and Mary, see *The Digby Plays*, pp. 69, 103 ff., 126 ff. For French forms see Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 974 ff. For Latin lyrics of this type see *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* (Wackernagel), Vol. I, pp. 125 ff., 169 ff., 172 ff., 190 ff.; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. II, pp. 5 ff.

⁴ *York*, pp. 445, 484.

⁵ *Das deutsche Kirch.* (Wackernagel), Vol. I, p. 246; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. II, pp. 125 f.; see also *Hymni Latini*, Vol. I, p. 247, and *Piae Cantiones* (Klemming), p. 176. See Appendix, p. 21.

⁶ See the Latin lyric, *Das deutsche Kirch.*, Vol. I, p. 116; see English lyrics, *An Old Eng. Misc.*, p. 100; *Minor Poems of V. MS.*, Vol. I, p. 4; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. XIV, p. 401; *Chester*, Vol. I, p. 94; *York*, p. 98; *Town.*, p. 88; *Cov.*, p. 112.

Of the general prayers and hymns to Mary there are in the poetry of the day thousands,¹ and in the drama some few.² It is especially interesting to find, however, that two of the most highly conventionalized of all the hymns to Mary have worked their way into the plays. The one is the lyric which plays fancifully with the individual letters of Mary's name;³ the other is one of the most facetious and popular of the religious lyrics current during the Middle Ages, *The Five Joys of Mary*, sometimes also written in the form, *The Seven, Nine, and Fifteen Joys of Mary*. It is in the form of the *Five Joys* that it is found in the *York Plays*.⁴ This form of the lyric, however, affected the drama most extensively when at Brussels it was given the dignity of a separate play.⁵

Of the many types of prayers and complaints in Middle English none is characterized by a more peculiar and striking tone than that in which the prayer is made to suit the especial needs of an old man.⁶ In these lyrics the speaker sometimes laments the sins of his youth, complains of his decrepit condition, and describes in detail the physical decay which accompanies old age. Many of these are of the nature of dramatic monologues and

¹ See *Das deutsche Kirch.*, Vol. I, pp. 47, 82, 109 ff.; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 22, 89, 102, 169, 235, 274; Vol. II, pp. 120, 212, 228 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, p. 190.

² *York*, pp. 101, 476, 492, 494 ff.; *Cov.*, pp. 116, 128, 154. Professor Manly has suggested that many more were present at one time in the body of the plays, but that most of them were cut out at the time when Mary-worship fell into disfavor in England.

³ See *Cov.*, p. 88; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CIX, p. 64; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. II, pp. 94 f. See also the prayer to Jesus (*Percy Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 278). See for parallel passages, Appendix, p. 29.

⁴ Pp. 493 ff. See also for Latin forms, *Das deutsche Kirch.*, Vol. I, pp. 150 ff.; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. II, pp. 161 ff.; *Rich. R. of Hamp.*, Vol. I, pp. 408 ff.; and for English forms, *Minor Poems of V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 25 ff., 31 ff., 133 ff.; *Wm. of Shoreham*, pp. 117; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, p. 87; *Spec. of Lyric Poetry* (*Percy Soc.*, Vol. IV), pp. 54 ff., 94 ff.; *Christmas Carols* (*P. Soc.*, Vol. IV), pp. 7 f.; *Songs and Carols* (*P. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII), pp. 68 ff.; Béddeker, *Altenglische Dichtung*, p. 218; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 164, 226, 232, 242, 257; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 48; Mätzner's *Altenglische Sprachproben*, pp. 51; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 275, 282; Vol. CIX, pp. 48, 49; *Cursor Mundi* (EETS), Parts V, VI, p. 1468. See further Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, p. 973. For parallel passages, see Appendix, p. 22.

⁵ Creizenach, Vol. I, p. 340; Chambers, Vol. II, p. 87.

⁶ *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 119, 197; Vol. II, p. 210; *Hymns to V. and C.*, pp. 36, 83; *Anglia*, Vol. III, p. 279; *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* (*Percy Soc.*, Vol. II), pp. 240, 254; *Spec. of Relig. Poetry* (*P. Soc.*, Vol. IV), p. 47; *Bann. MS.*, Vol. II, pp. 457, 781; *The Poetical Works of Skelton* (ed. Dyce), Vol. I, pp. 2 ff. Sometimes the passage simply describes the condition of the body in old age, without taking the form of a complaint. See *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* (*Percy Soc.*, Vol. II), p. 30; *The Pricke of Conscience* (ed. R. Morris), p. 22; *Hymns to V. and C.*, p. 79; *Minor Poems of Vernon MS.*, Vol. II, pp. 446 ff.; *Twenty-six Polit. Poems* (EETS), p. 138. The best known of these is perhaps "Maximon," *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 119 ff.; pr. also in *Anglia*, Vol. III, pp. 279 ff., and in Béddeker, *Alteng. Dicht.*, pp. 244 ff.

readily adapt themselves to dramatic treatment. It is difficult to read the speeches of characters in the plays, such as Noah, Joseph, and Simeon, without feeling that they were in a very definite sense influenced by these complaints.¹ And the humorous treatment of Joseph in the Corpus Christi plays, especially in Chester and Coventry,² may, in fact, be due to the eternal ridiculing of old men with young wives in the semi-religious lyrics.³

Middle English poetry contains an exceedingly rich body of Christmas songs.⁴ One might expect to find that these had exerted a considerable influence upon the English Christmas plays. And there are, it is true, a few fragments of what may have once been Christmas lyrics.⁵ But if there were ever complete lyrics at the beginnings of the English shepherds plays, or at those points in the plays where the angels first address the shepherds—points at which we might expect to find them—they have been crowded out by material of another sort. In *The Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors*, there are, of the three songs appended at the end, two, Nos. I and III, which bear unmistakable evidence of being Christmas lyrics.⁶ There is also another Christmas lyric which very evidently resembles those portions of the Christmas plays in which the shepherds make their offerings to Christ.⁷ In this case, however, it is the lyric which has been influenced by the miracle plays, rather than the reverse.

¹ *Chester*, Vol. I, pp. 98, 139, 189; *York*, pp. 43, 102, 138, 436; *Town*., pp. 25, 161, 181 ff.; *Coventry*, pp. 96, 118; see also *Nice Wanton*, Manly's *Pre-S. Dr.*, Vol. I, ll. 260 ff., for the same type of speech in the mouth of an old woman. For parallel passages, see Appendix, pp. 22 ff.

² *Chester*, Vol. I, pp. 98, 138 ff.; *Coventry*, pp. 117 ff., 131 ff., 145 ff.

³ *Christmas Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV), p. 52; Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, pp. 90 ff. See for the treatment of this theme in the fourth-century Greek homiletic writings, Cook, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 421 ff.

⁴ See *Christmas Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV); *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII); *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 189, 196, 231, 235, 253, 260, 265, 268, 271, 274, 279. A complete list of them would make a small-sized book of bibliography in itself. See also, for numerous Latin songs of much the same sort, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Vol. I, pp. 198 ff.

⁵ *Town. Shepherd's Play*, I, ll. 295 ff.; II, ll. 638 ff.; *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, ll. 1-13. See also *The Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors* (Manly, *Pre-S. D.*), ll. 435 ff.

⁶ Manly, *Pre-S. Drama*, Vol. I, pp. 151 ff.; ed. also by Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* (EETS), p. 32. Compare with No. I, *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 76; for the same carol see also *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII), p. 12, and *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 250 ff.; compare with No. III the lyric No. LXXIII of the *Baliol MS.*, 354, *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237 ff. See Appendix, p. 23, for parallels.

⁷ *Anglia* Vol. XXVI, pp. 243 ff., Poem No. LXXXII, stanzas 7, 8, 9. See Appendix, pp. 23 ff., for parallels.

Almost as widespread as the *Christmas Carol*, and far more uniform in its type, is the *Testament of Christ*, termed variously the *Lament of the Redeemer*, *Christ's Charter*, and *Christ's Complaint*.¹ Here again, as in the case of the *Complaints of an Old Man*, we have an instance of a lyrical form which is in itself essentially of the nature of a dramatic monologue; and the treatment of this theme in the drama and in the independent poems differs scarcely at all, the independent poems sometimes, it is true, growing to far larger proportions than they ever do in the drama. It seems highly probable that in many cases the independent lyric has been inserted into the drama with little or no change. In Towneley² this, it would seem, has certainly happened. Skelton's lyric on the same theme,³ if Skelton's it may be called, is almost word for word and rhyme for rhyme similar to Towneley. It is difficult to say how much this form had to do with the growth and development of the passion-plays. Historians of the drama have had so much to say about the *Planctus Mariae* in its relation to the passion-plays that they have failed to take special notice of this lyrical form, about as widespread and popular in the Middle Ages as the *planctus*, if not more so. The form, however, may have had more to do with the initial stages of development of the passion-play than it is given credit for. It is barely pos-

¹ Cook, in *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. 208 ff., called attention to the frequent occurrence of this form in English and in other literatures, citing at the same time examples of its occurrence in the miracle-plays and inquiring into its origin. I add the following references: *Chester*, Vol. II, pp. 190 ff.; *York*, pp. 363, 423, 450, 454; *Town.*, pp. 265 ff., 341; *Cow.*, pp. 207, 325, 329, 346; *Minor Poems of V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 259, 435; Vol. II, 462, 625, 659; *Pricke of Conscience*, pp. 141, 145; *An Old Eng. Misc.* (EETS), pp. 81, 231; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, pp. 53, 62 (similar to version by Skelton, pp. 141 ff.), 69 ff.; *Cursor Mundi*, pp. 1644 ff.; *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems* (re-ed. by Furnivall for EETS), pp. 141 ff., 182 ff., 190 ff., 254 ff., 262 ff., 276 ff.; *Hymns to V. and C.* (EETS), pp. 124 ff.; *The Lamentation of Souls* (ed. Lumby with *Be Domes Daeg*) ll. 35 ff. (EETS); *Twenty-six Polit. Poems* (EETS), pp. 41 ff., 76 ff., 85 ff.; *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* (Percy Soc., Vol. II), pp. 259 ff.; *Songs and Carols* (P. Soc., Vol. XXIII), pp. 19 ff., 46; *Wyt and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (Shaks. Soc., Vol. II), pp. 68 ff.; *Bann. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 82 ff., 96, 103, 112 ff.; *Lydgate's Two Nightingale Poems* (EETS), pp. 21 ff.; *Poetical Works of Skelton*, Vol. I, pp. 141, 144; *The Assumption of our Lady* (re-ed. by G. H. McKnight, EETS), pp. 123 ff.; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 207 ff.; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 119, 225; *Anglia*, Vol. III, pp. 550 ff.; Vol. XXVI, pp. 246, 248 ff., 255; *Alteng. Dicht.* (Böddiker), pp. 271 ff.; *The New Nut Brown Maid* ("Early Popular Poetry," ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III), pp. 2 ff.; *Rich. R. of Hampole*, Vol. I, p. 88; Vol. II, pp. 16 ff., 457 ff. See also Thien, *Über die englischen Marienklagen* (Kiel, 1906), p. 82. Compare *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 396 f., and also *Carmina Burana* (Schmeller, 1904), p. 29.

² *The Resurrection of the Lord*, ll. 262 ff.

³ *The Poetical Works of Skelton* (ed. Dyce), Vol. I, pp. 144 ff. See Appendix, pp. 26 ff., for parallel passages.

sible that it is to some form of this Lament that de Douhet refers when seeking to explain the origin of the passion-play.¹ In the English passion-play there is no more evidence that the *planctus* was the germ or starting-point of the passion-plays than there is for the *Christ's Testament*.² In the German Tyrol³ and Alselder⁴ passion-plays this passage follows very closely the Latin hymn form, in which is found the First Lesson for the First Nocturn for Good Friday.⁵ In both cases, moreover, the initial lines are in the original Latin, as if at one time the entire Latin hymn had had its place in the earliest passion-plays. So far as I have been able to discover, it seems by no means certain that the *planctus* was dramatized any earlier than the *Testament of Christ*.

Any investigation of the resurrection-lyrics, some of which are still retained in many of the miracle-plays⁶ which treat the events following the crucifixion, would naturally lead us back to the question of the liturgical origins of the Easter-play. With that question this paper is not directly concerned. There are, however, some few of these lyrics in the plays which may be the result of the playwrights having drawn upon the English independent resurrection-lyrics,⁷ rather than the result of the retention and gradual development of the original resurrection-hymns of the liturgical drama.

From the point of view of today those lyrics which deal with the general theme of the *Life of Man*⁸ in a semi-secular, semi-

¹ *Dictionnaire des mystères*, pp. 633 ff.

² See "The English *Planctus Mariae*," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 632 ff.

³ Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol*, pp. 127 ff.

⁴ *Deutsche Nat.-Litteratur*, "Das Drama des Mittelalters," Vol. III, pp. 764 ff.

⁵ For other places in which it is employed in the Sarum Use, see Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf*, p. 208.

⁶ York, p. 424; Town., pp. 324, 344 ff., 355 ff., 362; Cov., pp. 343, 356 ff., 362 ff., 367 ff., 371 ff., 375 ff.

⁷ *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, pp. 47; *The Bann. MS*, Vol. I, pp. 93, 95. For poems of the same kind with refrains as in Cov., pp. 375 ff., see *The Bann. MS*, pp. 92 ff.; *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems* (EETS), pp. 210 ff.; *Chester*, Vol. II, "Notes," pp. 204 ff. The last three examples are in reality *Planctus Mariae* influenced in form by the resurrection-lyric. For examples of Latin lyrics of a somewhat similar type, see Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Vol. I, pp. 175 ff., 218, 242 ff.

⁸ For lyrics of this general type, see *Lydgate's Minor Poems* (Percy Soc., Vol. II), pp. 74 ff., 198; *Spec. of Lyric Poetry* (P. Soc., Vol. IV), pp. 23, 47, 60, 101; *Religious Songs* (P. Soc., Vol. XI), pp. 64 ff.; *Songs and Carols* (P. Soc., Vol. XXIII), pp. 4 ff.; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 26, 138, 160, 234, 235, 261; *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* (P. Soc., Vol. II), pp. 20, 166, 177, 229; *Early Pop. Poetry*, Vol. III, p. 40; *Bann. MS*, Vol. I, pp. 37, 55, 127 ff., 131, 137, 152 ff., 155 ff., 201, 209 ff.,

religious tone are by far the most interesting of all the various classes with which we are concerned in this discussion. The writers of Middle English verse never tire of discoursing about the briefness, the changeableness of life, the transitoriness and worthlessness of all earthly things, often stopping to describe in detail the repulsiveness of the human body, and almost as often, using this text as a sermon, ending the poem by calling upon us to amend our lives and repent while there is yet time. The best-known and, in a literary way, the most effective form of this lyric is the *Ubi Sunt*, immortalized by Villon and Thomas de Hales, in which the writer inquires where the great and famous of the world are all gone. With this lyric we are not concerned here; its influence on the Corpus Christi play is hardly to be detected, though it later makes its appearance in Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, later still at the end of *The Disobedient Child*, and finally in Shakespeare's *Richard III*.¹ Other types of the *Life of Man* lyric have, however, exercised an influence upon these plays which, though slight, is marked and striking. In the Towneley *Shepherd Plays*² appears the form which emphasizes the variableness of life in the conventional phrases, "Now in, now out;"³ in the Towneley *Shepherd's Play, II*,⁴ the briefness of life is especially emphasized.⁵ In the Towneley *Judgment*⁶ there is a suggestion of the *Ubi Sunt* which calls to mind rather the Anglo-Saxon⁷ form than

308, 321, 329; Vol. II, pp. 759 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. I, pp. 285, 291; Vol. II, p. 71; Vol. XXVI, pp. 141 ff., 158, 167, 185, 197 ff., 207; *Minor Poems of V. MS* (EETS), Vol. I, pp. 335, 343; Vol. II, pp. 512, 667, 672, 674 ff., 686, 692, 715, 726 ff., 730, 740 ff.; *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems* (re-ed. EETS), pp. 253, 263; *Twenty-six Polit. Poems* (EETS), p. 113; *Wm. of Shoreham* (EETS), p. 1; *Religious Pieces* (EETS), p. 79; *Hymns to V. and C.* (EETS), pp. 39, 58, 80, 83, 86; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 65, 69, 93, 156, 161, 170; *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (ed. Skeat), pp. 291 ff., 449; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CIX, p. 46; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. XXI, p. 201; *The Poetical Works of Skelton* (ed. Dyce), Vol. I, p. 2; *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, p. 30; *The Poems of Dunbar* (Scot. T. S.), Vol. II, pp. 74 ff., 110, 226, 232, 244; *Rich. Rolle of Hampole*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 77, 367 ff.; *The Pricke of Conscience* (ed. Morris), pp. 39, 52.

¹ Act IV, sc. iv, ll. 91 ff.

² I, ll. 1 ff., and II, ll. 60 ff.

³ *The Sayings of St. Bernard* (*Minor Poems of Vernon MS*, Vol. II), pp. 513, 692, and elsewhere in *The Sayings of St. Bernard*; Boddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.*, p. 195; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. IX, p. 441; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CIX, p. 42; *Pricke of Conscience*, pp. 40 ff.; *The Poems of Dunbar* (STS), Vol. II, p. 244. See Appendix, p. 29, for parallel passages.

⁴ Ll. 120 ff.; see also *Chester*, Vol. II, p. 165.

⁵ *Minor Poems of V. MS*, Vol. II, p. 692; *Wyt and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (Shaks. Soc., Vol. II), pp. 110 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 192 ff.; *Rich. Rolle of Hampole*, Vol. II, p. 457; *Pricke of Cons.*, pp. 20 ff.

⁶ Ll. 550, 551.

⁷ *The Wanderer* (*Bibl. der angelsächs. Poesie*, Wülcker, ll. 92 ff.); see also a somewhat similar form in *Body and Soul* poems.

the highly conventionalized and fixed form of Middle English. In the Towneley *Lazarus*¹ there is a lyrical passage which reminds one of the *Ubi Sunt* in theme, but differs from it very considerably in its type—a type which is about as common in Middle English as the better-known *Ubi Sunt*.² There is, moreover, a longer lyric in the *Lazarus* which is marked by the refrain “Amend thee man whilst thou may.”³ Poems of a very similar nature, most of them characterized by almost the same refrain, are abundant in the general body of lyric poetry of the day;⁴ they too have their Latin prototype. Within this lyric another form makes its appearance—a form which the *verse* homilist is fond of using when preaching his sermons of the frightening sort. It reads here, “Thynk thou on the dredefull day,” and, “Thynke thou farys as dothe the wynde.”⁵ Similar passages occur in many poems of the day.⁶ In the *Lazarus* also the poet follows the body of man after death and describes it in detail.⁷ The passage calls to mind scores of poems which treat the same theme, from some of which it very probably borrowed many a phrase and line. The most remarkable line which has worked its way into this passage is, “The Roys of your hall,/your naked nose shall touche,” which is present in almost all of the *Body and Soul* poems, and sometimes in the *Long Life* poems.⁸

¹ Ll. 111 ff.

² Bann. MS, Vol. I, p. 154; *Spec. of L. P.* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV), p. 87; *Religious Songs* (P. Soc., Vol. XI), p. 63; for Old French form see *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume* (P. Soc., Vol. XXVII), p. 33; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. XIV, p. 180; *Relig. Pieces* (EETS), p. 81; *An Old Eng. Misc.* (EETS), pp. 91, 94, 157; *Minor Poems of V. MS*, Vol. II, pp. 676, 678. Compare *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, p. 398. For parallels see Appendix, p. 30.

³ Town., p. 392, ll. 174 ff.

⁴ *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems*, pp. 215 ff.; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 62, 78; *Minor Poems of V. MS*, Vol. II, pp. 668, 672, 725 ff., 727 ff., 730 ff.; *Twenty-six Polit. and Other Poems*, pp. 60 ff.; *Analia*, Vol. I, p. 411; Vol. II, p. 71; Vol. XXVI, p. 233; *Minor Poems of Lydgate* (Percy Soc., Vol. II), pp. 228 ff.; the poem is far too similar to other poems of this type to be called Lydgate's in any proper sense; *Religious Songs* (P. Soc., Vol. XI), pp. 63 ff.; *Songs and Carols* (P. Soc., Vol. XXIII), pp. 4, 29, 37, 45; Bann. MS, Vol. I, pp. 97, 103, 127, 129, 133, 138, 145, 201, 203; *Rich. Rolle of Hampole*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 76; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, pp. 275 ff. For Latin poems with somewhat similar refrain, see *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 395 f.; *Cantiones* (Klemming), pp. 16 ff. See Appendix, pp. 32 ff., for parallel passages.

⁵ Ll. 176, 178.

⁶ *Spec. of Lyric Poetry* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV); *Religious Songs* (P. Soc., Vol. XI), p. 71; printed also in *An Old Eng. Misc.*, p. 170; *Minor Poems of the V. MS*, Vol. II, p. 477; *Rich. Rolle of Hamp.*, Vol. I, p. 156; *Pricke of Cons.*, p. 73; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 139. For Latin form, see *Latin Hymns* (March), p. 121. See Appendix, pp. 33 ff., for parallel passages.

⁷ Town., pp. 391 ff.

⁸ Especially is it noticeable in the Anglo-Saxon specimen printed in *Anglia*, Vol. V., p. 289; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. XIV, p. 184, ll. 153 ff. For other passages very similar to the *Lazarus*

The judgment-plays, among the very latest developments of the English cyclic plays, afford on the whole the most interesting examples of the influence of the independent poems upon the up-building of the cyclic dramas. It is impossible perhaps to arrive at a just estimate of their origin and development, without entering into a thoroughgoing investigation of the Doomsday literature of the Middle Ages; and that, of course, lies beyond the limits of this study. It seems possible, however, to get a notion of some sort as to their development in English. The York judgment-play seems to represent the most primitive form of the four plays in English. Its structure is fairly simple: an opening speech by God recounting the wickedness of mankind, brief praise of God by the angels, the cries of the good and bad souls as they awake, Christ's descent to earth, and brief talk with his angels, brief speeches of the devils, Christ's *Complaint or Testament*, his division of the good and bad souls, their questions and replies to Christ, Christ's blessing of the good souls and damning of the bad—this is about the plot of the play. One set of incidents in this play we find in the judgment-plays of Chester, Towneley, and Coventry, with varying degrees of elaboration: the cries of the good and bad souls as they awake and arise from their graves, Christ's reproaches to the bad and blessing to the good, the dialogue between Christ and the good and bad souls, the attempts of the bad souls to justify themselves, and the final blessing and damnation. And this set of incidents seems to constitute the general framework of the plays. Comparison of this portion of the plays with the treatment of the same theme in *The Pricke of Conscience*¹ makes it seem that even this portion was already more or less prepared for by the dialogue treatment of the same theme

description of what we come to after death, see *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 139; *The Poet. Works of Skelton* (ed. Dyce), Vol. I, p. 19; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVII, p. 309; *Rich. Rolle of Hamp.*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 367 ff., 372; *Pricke of Con.*, pp. 13 ff.; *Wm. of Shoreham*, p. 32; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 78, 92, 172 ff., 178; *Minor P. of V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 270, 335, 343; Vol. II, pp. 511 ff. Similar passages may be found in almost any of the *Body and Soul* poems. See for parallel passages, Appendix, p. 33.

¹ Ll. 6096 ff.; see further *Lamentacio Animarum*, in the same volume as *Be Domea Daeg*; *Minor Poems of V. MS.*, Vol. II, pp. 658 ff., 765 ff.; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 72 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. III, p. 542. Compare the *Christ of Cynewulf* (ed. Cook), ll. 1470 ff.; here the treatment of the theme is in monologue. Compare also the Latin dialogue treatment of the same in *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 416 ff. See for parallel passages, Appendix, pp. 35 ff.

in verse. Chester has departed far from the simple scheme of York, the most noticeable difference being that the saved and the damned souls become particular persons representing various classes and kinds of people, each person having put into his mouth a repentant speech revealing the particular vices of his class of society. For this development the play is largely indebted to the various satires on the classes of the times, and perhaps to *The Dance of Death* literature.¹ Coventry has departed from the simple York scheme mainly in the matter of the devils at the end of the play² becoming the accusers of the bad souls, recounting their sins and tormenting them. This may be due to the influence of the Towneley *Judgment*, in which this becomes the chief incident of the play, Tutivillus there becoming the dominant figure and taking the center of the stage most of the time. An old fragment of a poem in *Reliquiae Antiquae*³ shows that this conception of Tutivillus was current in the literature of the day.

It is in the Towneley *Judgment*, however, that we have the farthest departure from the simple structure of York,⁴ and it is in this play that we have the best example of how the plays sometimes drew largely on the other forms of literature of the day. Excepting ll. 434-531, which seem to be the germ-portion of the play,⁵ almost the entire play is made up of portions of verse gathered from various sources, echoing various independent forms and types, and withal blended together in a remarkably effective and dramatic fashion. The writer of this play and presumably of the Towneley *Noah*, *Herod the Great*, and the *Shepherd's Play*, I and II, was familiar with a very considerable portion of the great body of homiletic and satirical poetry of his times, and it is mainly due to his adaptation of it to his dramatic needs that the Corpus Christi play in England is brought to its highest literary development.

The opening lines of the play⁶ may be compared with passages in *The Pricke of Conscience* dealing with the same scene.⁷

¹ See Chambers, *The Med. Stage*, Vol. II, p. 153 (notes); Creizenach, Vol. I, p. 461.

² The play is incomplete at the end.

³ Vol. I, p. 257.

⁴ See the York *Judgment Day* text for parallel passages in York and Town.

⁵ See above, p. 12.

⁶ Town., pp. 367 ff.; see also York, pp. 500 ff.; Cov., p. 402.

⁷ Pp. 135 ff., 190 ff., 199; see also Rich. *Rolle of Hamp.*, Vol. II, p. 446.

Lines 143-51, 179-87, 282-86, 296-304, 332-67, 576-88 are alliterative lists of sinners who are to be found in hell, which have been current in Middle English homiletic verse from the *Moral Ode*¹ poems on. Lines 394 ff. are exceedingly similar to the lines in other poems which describe judgment day,² probably a rendering of the great "Dies irae," most familiar to us in modern times in Sir Walter Scott and Mozart. This passage is followed immediately by *Christ's Testament*.³ Almost all of the remaining portions of the Towneley *Judgment* are adaptations of satires on various subjects, mainly on women.⁴ While taken collectively, the English judgment-plays seem to be the adaptation of the Doomsday dialogue between Christ and the good and bad souls to dramatic purposes, Towneley is very largely homiletic in its tone, and but for the previous development of the Middle English sermons in prose and verse could never have taken on its present form.

This is scarcely the place to call attention to the relation of the drama to other forms of Middle English poetry whose character is not in some sense lyrical. It is going somewhat out of the way to notice, for example, the similarity between the grotesque meal of the shepherds in the Towneley *Shepherd's Play No. I*⁵ and the *Grotesque Receipts*,⁶ between the speech of Death in *The Slaughter of the Innocents*⁷ and *The Dance of Death* of Lydgate,

¹ *Anglia*, Vol. I, pp. 6 ff. (for other editions, see *A Middle English Reader*, ed. O. F. Emerson, p. 297). For other passages of the kind, see *York*, p. 340; *Cov.*, p. 404; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 64, 67, 76, 150 ff., 187, 212, 225; *Minor Poems of V. MS* (EETS), Vol. I, pp. 253 ff.; *Altenglische Sprachproben*, pp. 330 ff.; *The Poems of Dunbar* (Scot. T. Soc.), pp. 79, 81, 221; *The Poetical Works of Skelton* (Dyce), Vol. I, pp. 98, 149, 309; *Religious Songs* (Percy Soc., Vol. XI) pp. 80 ff.; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. I, p. 99; *Pricke of Cons.*, pp. 92, 164 ff.; *Rich. Rolle of Hamp.*, Vol. I, p. 153; *Chaucerian and Other Poems* (Skeat), p. 172; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. LXXXVI, pp. 387 ff. See also *Piers Plowman* (ed. Skeat) for many passages of the kind. See Appendix, p. 31, for parallel passages.

² See *The Pricke of Cons.*, pp. 71, 165; *Rich. Rolle of Hamp.*, Vol. I, p. 129; *Twenty-six Polit. and Other Poems*, pp. 118, 142. For the Latin form see *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 402, 415; see further *Latin Hymns* (March), pp. 154 ff., 292 f. See Appendix for parallels.

³ See above, p. 12.

⁴ I hope to publish very shortly a paper on the subject of the influence of the satire of the day upon the Corpus Christi plays.

⁵ See also, *Chester*, Vol. I, pp. 119 ff.

⁶ *Anglia*, Vol. XVIII, p. 296; Vol. XXVI, p. 270; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 51, 56, 81, 239, 250, 325; *Bann. MS*, Vol. II, pp. 388, 402 ff.; *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII), p. 23. See Appendix, p. 34, for parallel passages.

⁷ *The Coventry Mysteries*, pp. 84 ff.; cf. *Chester*, Vol. I, p. 186.

between the *Geography in Verse*¹ and the Hegge play of *The Temptation*;² between *The Fifteen Signs of Judgment* in the Chester play *Ezechiel* and the treatment of the same theme in non-dramatic verse;³ and, finally, between the various *Creeds*, *Pater Nosters*, *Ten Commandments*,⁴ and other themes of a somewhat similar nature, treated in the general poetry of the time and the drama as well.

Leaving out of consideration these last-mentioned forms, it is apparent even from the hasty consideration of the lyrical forms given above, and it will be still more apparent after the more careful consideration of that large body of non-dramatic and dramatic *Planctus Mariae*, and the still larger body of lyrical dialogue covering almost as completely as the lyrical plays themselves the field of biblical narrative, to what extent the plays are indebted to the antecedent and contemporaneous religious lyric of Middle English. It is hardly going too far when we say that about one-fourth of the great body of material found in the York and Towneley cycles is, in the broad sense of the word, lyrical. Chester and Hegge, though not indebted to the lyric so largely as are York and Towneley, are, when we consider them in their entirety, very considerably indebted. Sometimes, as has been suggested, the dramatic lyric contains merely an echo of the lyric proper; sometimes it follows it in thought and phrase more or less closely; sometimes it has been inserted bodily from without, retaining the phrase and rhyme of the original; and very occasionally the lyric may even have formed perhaps the starting-point of certain of the plays. Of course, it is open to anyone to believe that the original lyric portions of the liturgical drama came by a gradual process of development to their present form in the Corpus Christi plays. But it seems highly probable that in the great majority of cases, as the drama widened its scope, it drew again

¹ *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 271; see also *The Play of the Sacrament*, ll. 15 ff.; Manly, *Pre-Shaks. Drama*, Vol. I, p. 243.

² Pp. 210 ff.

³ See *Be Domes Daegge and other Pieces* (EETS), pp. 91 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. III, pp. 534 ff.; Vol. XI, pp. 399 ff.; Mätzner's *Alleng. Sprachproben*, pp. 121 ff.; *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Philologie*, Vol. V, pp. 194 ff.; Paul and Braune, Vol. XI, pp. 413 ff.; R. Peiper, "Zur Gesch. der mittellat. Dichtung," in *Arch. f. Literaturgesch.*, Vol. IX, pp. 117 ff.

⁴ See Appendix, p. 28, for parallel passages.

and again upon the vast field of the lyric, which was developing side by side with it, using the same themes as the drama, and treating these themes in a way not essentially different.

Whatever may be the specific relation of the particular lyrics to particular plays, it is fairly clear that we have here another example of the method of development of the drama as stated by Professor Manly in his explanation of the relation of the moralities to the Corpus Christi plays. "The moralities," he says, "are not to be regarded as growing out of the Corpus Christi plays, but are merely an instance of the theory that the dramatic instinct, once set going, tended to dramatize material already at hand in other provinces of literature."¹ So it is in regard to the lyrics. The drama has done with them what it has been doing ever since it took its rise in the liturgy. It has simply extended its province in such fashion as to include other contemporaneous forms of literature already existing side by side with it.

APPENDIX

DRAMA

Chester Plays, Vol. II, p. 127

Jacobus Major.

Come, Holye Ghoste, come creator,
Viscitte our thoughtes in this stowre;
Thou arte mans conqueroure;
And graunte us, Lorde, thy grace.

Johannes.

Thou that arte called counscelor,
And sende from heaven as Savyour,
Well of life, leache of langor,
That prayen heare in this place.

Thomas.

Yea, that in seven monthes woulde
conseyle
Grace of thy ghoste aboute to deale,
As thou promised for mans heale,
Appeare nowe, since I praye.

LYRIC

Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Vol. II, p. 75

Veni, creator spiritus,
mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratia,
quae tu creasti, pectora.

Qui paraclitus diceris
donum dei altissimi,
Fons vivus, ignis, charitas
et spiritalis unctio.

Tu septifomis munere,
dextrae tu digitus,
Tu rite promissum patris
sermone ditans guttura.

¹ For the larger application and fuller development of this theory see Manly, "Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 577 ff.

DRAMA

Jacobus Minor.

Lighte our wittes with thy wayle;
Put life in our thoughtes lele;
Lixom thy frendes that bene frayle,
With vertues lastinge (aye).

Phillipus.

Vanishe our enemyes farre awaie,
And graunte us peace, Lorde, to our
paie;
For while thou arte our leader aye,
We maye ashewe anye.

Bartholomes.

Through thy mighte knowe we may,
The father of heaven full in good
faye.
And ye, his sonne, in south to saye,
Thou arte in companye.

Mathieus.

Worshipped be thou ever and oo,
The father and the sonne also;
Let thy ghoste nowe from thee goe.
And faith that we maie fynde.

Towneley Plays, pp. 316, 327, 328

Maria Iacobi. Alas! how stand I on
my feete
when I thynk on his woundys wete!
Ihesus, that was on luf so swete,
And neuer dyd yll.
Is dede and grafen under the grete,
withoutten skyl.

Lucas. When I thynk on his passyon,
And on his moder how she can swoyn,
To dy nere am I bowne,
ffor sorow I sagh hir make;
Vnder the crosse when she fell downe,
ffor hir son sake.

LYRIC

Accende lumen sensibus,
insunde amorem cordibus,
Infirma nostri corporis
virtute firmans perpeti.

Hostem repellas longius
pacemque dones protinus,
Ductore sic te praeviso
vitemus omne noxium.

Da gaudiorum praemia,
da gratiarum munera,
Dissolve litis vincula,
astringe pacis foedera.

Per te sciamus, da, patrem,
noscamus atque filium,
Et utriusque spiritum
credamus omni tempore.

Horstmann's *Richard Rolle of
Hampole*, Vol. I, p. 78

Of Ihesu mast lyst me speke,
that al my bale may bete.
Me thynk my hert may al to-breke,
when I thynk on that swete.
In lufe lacyd he hase my thocht,
that I sal neuer forgete:
Ful dere me thynk he hase me boght,
with blodi hende & fete.

Specimens of Lyric Poetry (Percy
Society), Vol. IV, p. 83

When y thenke on Jesu blod,
that ran doun bi ys syde,
From his herte doun to his fot,
For ous he spradde his herte blod.
his wondes were so wyde.

DRAMA

Lucas. where so I fare he is my mynde,
Bot when I thynk on hym so kynde,
 how sore gyltles that he was pyynde
 Apon a tre,
Vnethes may I hold my mynde,
 So sore myslykys me.

Towneley Plays, pp. 114 f.

primus pastor. hayll, kyng I the
 call!/
 hayll, most of myght!
hayll, the worthyst of all!/*hayll*, duke!
 hayll, knyght!
 Of greatt and small / thou art lorde by
 right;
hayll, perpetuall! / *hayll*, faryst wyght!
 here I offer!
 I pray the to take—
 If thou wold, for my sake,
 with this may thou lake,—
 This lytyll spruse cofer.

York Mystery Plays, p. 443.

Welcome! oure wytt and our wys-
 dome,
 Welcome! our joy all and somme,
 Welcome! redemptour omnium
 tyll hus hartely.

Anna. Welcome! blyssed Mary and
 madyn ay,
 Welcome! mooste meke in thyne
 array,
 Welcome! bright starne that shyneth
 bright as day,
 all for our blys.

Welcome! the blyssed beam so bryght,
 Welcome! the leym of all oure light,

LYRIC

When y thenke on Jhesu ded,
 min herte over-werpes,
 Mi soule is won so is the led
 for my fole werkes.
 Ful wo is that ilke mon,
 That Jhesu ded ne thenkes on,
 what he soffrede so sore!
 For my synnes y wil wete,
 Ant alle y wyle hem for-lete
 nou ant evermore.

Minor Poems of the Vernon MS,
 Vol. I, p. 24

Heil kyng, heil kniht,
 heil mon of most miht,
 Prince in thi Trone,
Heil Duyk, heil Emperour,
 Heil beo thou governour
 Of al this worldus wone.

Heil flesch, heil blod,
 heil mon of mylde mod,
 Heil beo thow kyng;
 Heil God ffeirest,
 Heil beo thou, bern best,
 Thow madest alle thyng.

Christmas Carols, p. 4 (Percy Society,
 Vol. IV).

Wolcum yol, thu mery man, in wor-
 chepe of this holy day.

Wolcum be thu, hevene kyng,
 Wolcum, born in on morwenyng,
 Wolcum, for hom we xal syng,
 wolcum, yol.

Wolcum be ye, Stefne and Jon,
 Wolcum, Innocentes everychon,

DRAMA

Welcome! that all pleasour hais
plight
to man and wyfe.

Welcome! thowe blyssed babb so free,
Welcome! oure welfayre wyelly,
And welcome all our seall, suthly,
to grete and small.

Babb, welcome to thy beydly boure,
Babb, welcome nowe for our soccoure,
And babb, welcome with all honour
here in this hall.

LYRIC

Wolcum, Thomas marter on,
wolcum, yol.

Wolcum be ye, good newe yere,
Wolcum, twelthe day bothe in fere,
Wolcum, seyntes lef and dere,
wolcum, yol.

Wolcum be ye, Candylmesse,
Wolcum be ye, qwyn of blys,
Wolcum bothe to more and lesse,
wolcum, yol.

Wolcum be ye that arn here,
Wolcum, alle, and mak good chere,
Wolcum, alle, another yere
wolcum, yol.

The Bannatyne MS., p. 255

Welcum, illustrat layde and oure
quene!

Welcum, oure lyone with the floure
delyce!

Welcum, oure thrifill with the Lorane
grene!

Welcum, oure rubent rois vpon the
ryce!

Welcum, oure jem and joyfull gene-
tryce!

Welcum, oure beill of Albion to beir!
Welcum, oure pleasand princes maist
of pryce!

God gif the grace agains this guid
new yeir.

York Mystery Plays, p. 487

Thom.

Farewele, thou schynyng schappe
that schyniste so schire,
Farewele, the belle of all bewtes to
bide here;
Farwele thou faire foode,
Farewele the keye of counsaile,
Farewele all this worldes wele,
Farewele, our hap and oure hele,
Farewele nowe, both gracious and
goode.

*Early English Ballads,
"Songs and Carols," p. 57*

Farwell, Crystmas fayer and fre;
Farwell, newers day with the;
Farwell the holy Epyphane;
And to Mary now syng we,
Revertere, revertere,
the quene of blysse and of beaute.

DRAMA

The Towneley Plays, p. 203

ffarwell! the frelyst that euer was
fed!

ffarwell! floure more fresh than
floure de lyce!

ffarwell! stersman to theym that ar
sted

In stormes, or in desese lyse!

Thi moder was madyn and wed;

ffarwell! pereles, most of pryce!

ffarwell! the luflyst that euer was
bred!

Thi moder is of hell emprise.

ffarwell! blissid both bloode and
bone!

ffarwell! the semelyst that euer was
seyn!

To the, ihesu, I make my mone;

ffarwell! comly, of cors so cleyn!

ffarwel! gracyouse come! where so
thou gone;

fful mekill grace is to thè geyn;

Thou leyne vs lyffying on thi lone,

Thou may vs mende more then we
weyn.

York Mystery Plays, p. 484 f.*Thom.*

To bide with thy barne in blisse to
be bidand!

Hayle! jentilest of Jesse in Jewes
generacion,

Haile! welthe of this worlde all
welthis is weldand,

Haile! hendest enhaunsed to high
habitacion.

Haile! derworth and dere is the diewe
dominacion.

Haile! floure fresshe florissshed, thi
frewte is full felesome.

Haile! sete of oure saveour and sege
of saluacion,

Haile! happy to helde to, thi helpe
is full helesome.

LYRIC

The Bannatyne MS., Vol. II, p. 645

Fair weill, my hairt, fair weill bayth
friend and fo,

Fair weill, the weill of sweitast medi-
cyne,

Fair weill, my lufe, bayth lyfe and
deth also;

Fair weill, blythnes, fairweill, sweit
lemmane myne,

Fair weill, the flour of colour gud
and fyne,

That fadis nocht for weddir wen nor
weit,

No moir than in the somer sessone
sweit.

Anglia, Vol. XXVI, p. 166

Hayle be thou godly graunter of
grace,

Hayle blessyd sterc on the see,
hayle be thow, cumforte in euery
case,

Hayle be thow, cheffe of chastyte,
Hayle well, hayle wytt of all merceye,
Hayle be thou highest in hevyns
blome,

Hayle, Jentyll lady, I pray the
ffunde preces ad filium!

Hayle be thou, virgyn of virgyns,
hayle blessed lady & hayle swete
may,

Hayle be thou moder of dere Ihesus,
Hayle cheff of chastite, so well thow
may,

DRAMA

Haile! pereles in plesaunce,
 Haile! precious and pure,
 Haile! salue that is sure,
 Haile! lettir of langure
 Haile! bote of oure bale in obey-
 esaunce.

York Mystery Plays, p. 445

Come myghtyest by see and by
 sandes,
 Come myrth by strete and by
 strandes
 on moolde.

Come halse me, the babb that is best
 born,
 Come halse me, the myrth of our
 morne,
 Come halse me, for elles I ame lorne
 for olde,

York Mystery Plays, p. 484

x Ang. Come chosen childe!
xi Ang. Come Marie milde!
xii Ang. Come floure vnfiled!
viii Ang. Come vppe to the kyng
 to be crowned.

LYRIC

hayle blessid lady to thy son thow
 say,
 that we may cum to his kyngdome,
 for me and all crystyn thow pray,
 pro salute fidelium!
 Explicit.

Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchen-*
lied, p. 246 ff.

Veni, praecelfa domina,
 Maria, tu nos visita,
 Aegras mentes illumina
 per sacrae numina.

Veni, falvatrix faeculi,
 sordes auser piaculi,
 In visitando populum
 poenae tollas periculum.

Veni, regina gentium,
 dele flammam reatum,
 Rege quodcunque devium,
 da vitam innocentium.

Veni ut aegros visites,
 Maria, vires robores
 Virtute sacri impetus,
 ne fluctuetur animus.

Veni stella, lux marium,
 insunde pacis radium,
 Exultet cor in gaudium
 Iohannis ante dominum,

Veni, virga regaliū,
 reduc fluctus errantium
 Ad unitatem fidei,
 in qua flavantur caelici.

Veni, deposce spiritus
 sancti dona propensius,
 Ut dirigamur rectius
 in huius vitae actibus.

Veni, laudemus filium,
 laudemus sanctum spiritum,
 Laudemus patrem unicum,
 qui nobis dat auxilium.

DRAMA

York Mystery Plays, pp. 494 ff.

i *Ang.* Nowe maiden meke and
modir myne,
Itt was full mekill myrthe to the,
That I schulde ligge in wombe of
thine,
Thurgh gretynge of an aungell free.

ii *Ang.* The secounde joie modir
was syne,
With-oute payne whan thou bare
me.

iii *Angelus.* The thirde aftir my
bittir payne,
Fro dede on lyve thou sawe me be.

iv *Ang.* The fourthe was when I
stied vppe right,
To heuene vnto my fadir dere,
My modir, when thou saugh that
sight,
To the it was a solas seere.

v *Ang.* This is the fifte, thou worthy
wight,
Of the jois this has no pere,
Nowe schall thou belde in blisse so
bright,
For euer and ay, I highte the here.

Totneley Plays, pp. 182 ff.

ffor I am old symeon:
So old on lyfe know I none,
That is mayde on flesh and bone,
In all medyll-erd.
No wonder if I go on held:
The feuyrs, the flyx, make me vnweld;
Myn armes, my lymmes, are stark for
eld,
And all gray is my berd.

LYRIC

Anglia, Vol. XXVI, p. 242 ff.

Mary for the loue of the,
blyth & glad may we be,
& I shall syng as ye may se:
sua quinque gaudia.

The fyrst Joy was sent to the,
Whan gabryell gretyd the,
& sayd: hayle mary in chastite
efficiarius grvida!

The second Joy was full god,
Whan cryst toke both flesshe & blod,
withowte syn talkyng of mode
enixa es puerpera.

The iijde Joy was of gret myght,
Whan Jhesu was on the rode dyght,
Dede & buryed in all menys syght,
surrexit die tercia.

The iiijth Joy was withowt(e n) a y
Whan Jhesu to hell toke the way,
& with hym com gret a ray,
ad celi palacia.

The Vth Joy was on holy thursday.
vnto hevyn he toke the way,
god & man, & so he ys for ay.
ascendit super sidera.

Reliquiae Antiquae, Vol. II, p. 211

Al thus eld me for-dede,
Thus he toggith ute mi ted,
and drawith ham on rewe;
y ne mai no more of love done,
Mi pilkoc piasset on mi schone,
uch schenlon me bischrewe.
Mine hed is hore and al for-fare,
I-hewid as a grei mare,
mi bodi wexit lewe.
When I bihold on mi schennen,

DRAMA

Myn ees are worn both marke and
blynd;
Myn and is short, I want wynd;
Thus has age dystroed my kynd,
And reft myghtis all;
Bot shortly mon I weynd away;
what tyme ne when, I can not say,
ffor it is gone full many a day
Syn dede began to call.

Ther is no wark that I may wyrk,
Bot oneths crall I to the kyrk;
Be I com home I am so irk
That farther may I noght;
Bot settys me downe, and grankys,
and gronys,
And lygys and restys my wery bonys,
And all nyght after grankys and
goonys,
On slepe tyll I be broght.

*Manly, Specimens of Pre-Shake-
sperean Drama, Vol. I, p. 152*

Doune from heaven, from heaven so
hie,
Of angeles ther came a great com-
panie,
With mirthe and joy and great
solemnitye,
The(y) sange terly terlow,
So mereli the sheppards ther pipes
can blow.

Chester Plays, pp. 140 f.

Heale, kinge! borne in a maydens
bower,
Proffittes did tell Thou shouldest be
our succore,
Thus clarkes doth saye.

LYRIC

Min dimmith al for-dwynnen,
mi frendis waxith fewe.

Now I pirtle, I poste, I poute,
I anurpe, I snobbe, I sneipe on snoute,
throȝ kund I comble and kelde;
I lench, I len, on lyme I lasse,
I poke, I pomple, I palle, I passe,
as gallith gome I geld;

I rivele, I roxle, I rake, I rouwe,
I clyng, I cluche, I croke, I couwe,
thus he wol me aweld.
I grunt, I grone, I grenne, I gruche,
I nase, I neppe, I nifle, I nuche,
and al this wilneth eld.

I stunt, I stomere, I stomble as
sleddes,
I blind, I bleri, I bert in bedde,
such sond is me sent;
I spitte, I spatle in spech, I sporne,
I werne, I lutle, ther-for I murne,
thus is mi wel i-went.

Anglia, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237 ff.

Tyrly tirlow, tirlly tirlow
so merily the shepardes be gan to
blow!
A bowt the felde they pypyd ryght,
So meryly the shepardes be gan to
blow,
A down from hevyn yat ys so hygh:
terly terlow!

Angellys ther cam A cumpany,
with mery songes And melody,
The shepardes Anon that gan A spye
terly terlow!

Anglia, Vol. XXVI, pp. 243 ff.

Can I not syng but Hoy!
Whan the Ioly shepard made so mych
Ioy!

(1) The shepard vpon a hill he satt,
he had on hym his tabard & his hat,

DRAMA

Loe, I bringe thee a bell:

I praie thee save me from hell,
So that I maye with thee dwell,
And serve thee for aye.

Secundus Pastor

Heale the, emperower of hell,
And of heaven allsoe!¹
The feynde shall thee fell,
That ever hath bene false.
Heale the, maker of the starre,
That stode us beforne;
Heale the, blessed full barne,
Loe, sonne, *I bringe thee a flaggette,*
Theirby heinges a sponne,
To eate thy pottage with all at nonne,
As I myselfe full ofte tymes have
done,
With harte I praie thee to take.

Tercius Pastor

Heale, prince without anye pearse,
That mankinde shall releve!
Heale thee, froo unto Lucifler,
The which begyled Eve!
Heale the, granter of happe,
For in yeairth nowe thou dwelleste.
Loe, sonne, I bringe thee a cape,
For I have nothings elles:
This gueifte, sonne, I bringe thee is
but small,
And though I come the hyndmoste of
all,
When thou shall them to thy blesse
call,
Good Lorde, yet thinke on me.

Trowle.

My dere, with dutye unto thee I me
dresse,
My state and felloshippe that I doe
not lose,
For to save me from all yle sicknes.
I offer unto thee a payer of my wifes
oulde hose,
For other dremes, my sonne,

¹ Read also.

LYRIC

hys tarbox, hys pype, and *hys flagat,*
hys name was called Ioly, Ioly Wat!
for he was a gud herdes boy, vt hoy!
for in hys pype he made so mych joy,
Can I not sing but hoy!

(2) The shepard upon a hill was layd,
Hys doge to hys gyrdyll was tayd,
He had not slept but a lytill brayd
but gloria in excelsis was a hym sayd
vt hoy!

for in his pipe he made so mych joy!
Can I not syng &c.

(3) The shepard on A hill He stode
Rownd a bowt hym his shepe they
yode,
he put hys hond vnder hys hode,
he saw a star as rede as blod.

Vt hoy!
for in hys pipe he made so myche joy,
Can I not syng &c.

(4) Now farwell mall & also will,
for my love go ye all styll,
vnto I cum a gayn you till,
And euermore (W)ill ryng well thy bell,
vt hoy!

for in his pipe he mad so mych Joy!
Can I not sing &c.

(5) *Now must I go yer cryst was borne*
farewell I cum a gayn to morn
Dog kepe well my shep fro ye corn!
& warn well warroke when I blow my
horn!

Vt hoy!
for in his pipe he mad so mych joy!
Can I not syng &c.

(6) Whan wat to bedlem cum was,
he swet, he had gone faster than a
pace,

He fownd Ihesu in a sympyll place,
be twen An ox & an asse,
vt hoy!

for in his pipe he mad so mych joy!
Can I not syng but hoy &c.

(7) The shepard sayd A non ryght:
I will go se yon farly syght,
Wher as ye Angell syngith on hight,

DRAMA

Have I non for to geve,
That is worth anye thinge at all,
But my good harte, while I live,
And my prayers tell death doe me call.

The Firste Boye.

Nowe, Lorde, for to geve thee have I
nothinge,
Nether goulde, silver, bruche, ner
ringe,
Nor no riche robes mete for a kinge,
That I have heare in store:
But that yt lackes a stoppell,
Take thee heare my well fayer bottill,
for it will houlde a good pottill,
In faith, I can geve thee no more.

The Secounde Boye.

Lorde, thou arte of this virgine borne,
In full poore araye sittinge on her
arme,
For to offer to thee I have no skorne,
Although thou be but a childe;
For jewell have I non to geve thee,
For to mantayne thy royall dignitie
But my hude, then take it thee,
As thou arte god and man.

The Thirde Boye.

O, noble childe of thee!
Alas! what have I for thee,
Save onlye my pipe?
Elles trewlye nothinge,
Were I in the rockes or in,
I coulde make this pippe,
That all this woode shoulde ringe,
And quiver, as yt were.

The Fourth Boye.

Nowe, childe, although thou be comon
from God,
And be God thy selfe in thy manhoode,
Thou wylte for sweete meate loke,
Yet I knowe that in thy childehoode
To pull downe aples, pearres, and
plumes,

1st ?

LYRIC

& the star yet shynyth so bryght!
vt hoy!
for in his pipe he made so mych foy,
Can I not syng but Hoy!

(8) *Ihesu I offer to the here my pype,
My (skyrt), my tarbox & my (scrype),
Home to my felowes now will I skype,*
& also loke unto my shepe!

vt hoy!
ffor in his pipe he made so mych Ioy,
can I not syng but Hoy!

(9) *Now farewell, myne owne herdes
man wat!*

ye for god, lady even so I hat!
Lull well Ihesu in thy lape,
*& farewell Ioseph wyth thy rownd
cape!*

vt hoy!
for in hys pype he mad so myche Ioy,
can I not syng &c.

(10) Now may I well both hope & syng,
ffor I haue bene a¹ crystes beryng,
home to my felowes now wyl I flyng,
Cryst of hevyn to his blis vs bryng!

vt hoy,
for in his pipe he mad so myche joy,
can I not syng &c.

DRAMA

Oulde Joseph shall not nede to hurte
his thombes,
Because thou hast not pleintie of
crombes,
I geve thee heare my nutthocke.

Primus Pastor.

Nowe, fare well, mother and maye,
For of synne naughte thou wotteste,¹
Thou haste brought fourth this daie
Godes sonne of mighteste moste.
Wherefore men shall saye,
Blessed in everye coste and place
Be thou memoriall for me and for us
all.
And that we maie from syne fall,
And stande ever in thy grace,
Our Lorde God be with thee.

Towneley XXVI, *The Resurrection of
the Lord*, ll. 314 f.

Behald my shankes and my knees,
Myn armes and my thees;
Behold we well, looke what thou sees,
Bot sorow and pyne;
Thus was I spylt, for thi gylt,
And not for myne.

And yit more vnderstand thou shall;
In stede of drynk thay gaf me gall,
Asell thay manged it withall,
The Iues fell;
The payn I haue, tholyd I to saue
Mans saull from hell.

Behold my body how Iues it dang
with knottys of whyppys and scorges
strang;
As stremes of well the bloode out
sprang
On euery syde;
knottes where thay hyt, well may
thou wytt,
Maide woundys wyde.

¹ Read *trast*.

LYRIC

The Poetical Works of Skelton
(Dyce), pp. 144 f.

Beholde my shankes, behold my knees,
Beholde my hed, armes, and thees,
Beholde of me nothyng thou sees
But sorowe and pyne;
Thus was I spylt,
Man, for thy gylte,
And not for myne.

Behold my body, how Jewes it donge
With knots of whipcord and scourges
strong;
As stremes of a well the blode out
sprong
On euery syde;
The knottes were knyrt,
Ryght well made with wyt,
They made woundes wyde.

Man, thou shalt now vnderstand,
Of my head, both fote and hand,
Are four c. and fyue thousand
woundes and sixty;
Fifty and vii
Were tolde full euen
Vpon my body.

DRAMA

And therfor thou shall vnderstand
In body, heed, feete, and hand,
ffour hundreth woundys and fyue
thowsand
here may thou se;
And therto neyn were delt full euen
ffor luf of the.

Behold on me nocht els is lefte,
And or that thou were fro me refte,
All thise paynes wold I thole eft
And for the dy;
here may thou se that I luf the,
Man, faythfully.

Sen I for luf, man, boght the dere,
As thou thi self the sothe sees here,
I pray the hartely, with good chere,
luf me agane;
That it lyked me that I for the
tholyd all this payn.

If thou thy lyfe in syn haue led,
Mercy to ask be not adred;
The leste drope I for the bled
Myght clens the soyn,
All the syn the world with in
If thou had done.

I was well wrother with Iudas
ffor that he wold not ask me no grace,
Then I was for his trespas
That he me sold;
I was redy to shew mercy,
Aske none he wold.
lo how I hold myn armes on brede,
The to saue ay redy mayde;
That I great luf ay to the had,
well may thou know!
Som luf agane I wold full fayn
Thou wold me shaw.

Bot luf nocht els aske I of the,
And that thou fownde fast syn to fle;
pyne the to lyf in charyte
Both nyght and day;
Then in my blys that neuer shall mys
Thou shall dwell ay.

LYRIC

Syth I for loue bought thé so dere,
As thou may se thy self here,
I pray thé with a ryght good chere
Loue me agayne,
That it lykes me
To suffre for thé
Now all this payne.

Man, vnderstand now thou shall.
In sted of drynke they gaue me gall,
And eysell mengled therwithall,
The Jewes fell;
These paynes on me
I suffred for thé
To bryng thé fro hell.

Now for thy lyfe thou hast mysled,
Mercy to aske be thou not adred;
The lest drop of blode that I for thé
bled
Myght clense thé soone
Of all the syn
The worlde within,
If thou haddest doone.

I was more wrother with Iudas,
For he wold no mercy aske,
Than I was for his trespas
Whan he me solde;
I was euer redy
To graunt hym mercy,
But he none wolde.

Lo, how I hold my armes abrode,
Thé to receyue redy isprode!
For the great loue that I to thé had
Well may thou knowe,
Some loue agayne
I wolde full fayne
Thou woldest to me shewe.

For lous I ask nothyng of thé
But stand fast in faythe, and syn
thou fle,
And payne to lyue in honeste
Both nyght and day;
And thou shalt have blys
That neuer shall mys
Withouten nay.

DRAMA

Towneley, XVIII, ll. 143 ff. *The
Play of the Doctors*

"The thyrd bydys," where so ye go,
That ye shal halow the holy day;
ffrom bodely wark ye take youre rest;
yours household, looke the same
thay do,

Both wyfe, chyld, seruande, and beest.
The fourt is then in weyll and wo

"Thi fader, thi moder, thou shalt
honowre,

Not only with thi reuerence,
Bot in thare nede thou thaym socoure,
And kepe ay good obedyence."

The fyft bydys the "no man slo,
ne harme hym neuer in word ne
dede,

Ne suffre hym not to be in wo
If thou may help hym in his nede."

The sext bydys the "thi wyfe to take,
Bot none othere lawfully;
lust of lechery thou fle and fast for-
sake,
And drede ay god where so thou be."

The seuen bydys the "be no thefe
feyr,

Ne nothyng wyn with trechery;
Oker, ne symony, thou com not nere,
Bot consyquence clere ay kepe truly."

The aght byddys the "be true in dede,
And fals wytnes looke thou none
bere;

looke thou not ly for freynd ne syb,
lest to thi saull that it do dere."

The neyn byddys the "not desyre
Thi neghburs wyfe ne his women,
Bot as holy kyrk wold it were,
Right so thi purpose sett it in."

The ten byddys the "for nothyng
Thi neghburs goodys yerne wrong-
wysly;

his house, his rent, ne his hafyng,
And crysten fayth trow stedfastly."

LYRIC

Reliquiae Antiquae, Vol. I, p. 49
Tertium Mandatum

Thy haliday kepe wele also,
Fra bodely werk thou take thy rest;
And all thy howshald the same sall do,
Bothe wyf and childe, servant and
beste.

Quartum Mandatum
Thy fadir and modir thou shalt hon-
our,
Noght onely with reverence,
Bot in thaire nede thou thaym socour,
And keep ay gode obedyence.

Quintum Mandatum
Of mankynde thou shalt none sle,
Ne harm with worde, wyll, nor dede;
Ne suffir non lorn ne lost to be
If thou wele may than help at nede.

Sextum Mandatum
Thy wyf thou may in tyme wele take,
Bot non other womman lawfully;
Lechery and synful lust thou fle and
forsake,
And drede ay God where so thou be.

Septimum Mandatum
Be thou no thef, nor theves fere,
Ne nothing wyn with trechery;
Okur ne symony cum thou not nere,
Bot conciens clere kepe ay trewely.

Octavum Mandatum
Thow shalt in worde be trewe also;
And fals wytnes thoushalt none bere;
Loke thou not lye for frende nor foo,
Lest thou thy saull full grately dere.

Nonum Mandatum
Thy neghbur wyf thou not desire,
Nor othir wymmen with syn covet,
Bot as haly kirk wald it were,
Right so thy purpos loke thou set.

Decimum Mandatum
Howe, ne land, ne othir thyng,
Thow shalt not covet wrangfully;
Bot kepe ay wele Goddes bidding,
And cristen fayth trow stedfastly.

DRAMA

Towneley Plays, p. 100, ll. 4-13

Now in hart, now in heyll / now in
weytt, now in blast,

Now in care,
Now in comforth agane,
Now is fayre, now is rane,
Now in hart full fane,

And after full sare.

Thus this World, as I say / farys on
yolk syde,

ffor after oure play / com sorows
vnryde;

ffor he that most may / When he
syttys in pryde,

When it comys on assay / is kesten
downe wyde.

Coventry Mysteries, p. 88*Angelus*:

In your name Maria ffyve letterys
we han,—

M. Mayde most mercyfulle and mek-
est in mende;

A. Averte of the anguysche that Adam
began;

R. Regina of regyon reyneng with-
owtyn ende;

I. Innocent be influens of Jesses
kende;

A. Advocat most autentyk your aute-
cer Anna,

Hefne and helle here kneys down
bende,

Whan this holy name of ȝow is seyd,
MARIA.

Towneley Plays, p. 351, ll. 316-19,
328-31*Thomas*:

Mercy, ihesu, rew on me / my hande
is bloddy of thi blode!

Mercy, ihesu, for I se / thi myght that
I not vnderstode!

Mercy, ihesu, I pray the / that for all
synfull died on roode!

Mercy, ihesu, of mercy fre / for thi
goodnes that is so goode!

LYRIC

Herrigs Archiv, Vol. CIX, p. 42

That now is wet and now is dreye.
for sothe serteyn as I zu say.

now is joye and now is blys.
now is balle and butternesse,
now it is and now it nys:
thus pasyt this word a way.

Now I hope and now I syng,
now I dance and now I sprynge,
now I weyle and now I wrynge:
now is wel and now is way.

Now I hoppe and now I daunce,
now I prike and now I prounce,
this day heyl, te morwe per chaunce
we mown be ded and ley in clay.

Herrig, Vol. CIX, p. 64

M and A and R and I!
syngyn I wyl a newe song.

It were fowre letterys of purposy:
M and A and R and I
tho wern letteris of mary
of hom al our joye sprong.

God that sit aboue the sky
with M and A and R and I,
saue now al this company
and sende vs joye and blysse a in
mong!

Herrig, Vol. CVI, p. 60

Jhesu mercy how may this be
That god hymselfe for sole man-
kynd
wolde take on hym humanitie
my witt nor reson may hit well fynd
Jhesu mercy; abed: how may this be

DRAMA

Mercy, ihesu, lorde swete/for thi
 fyfe woundys so sare,
 Thou suffred through handys and
 feete/
 thi semely side a spere it share;
 Mercy, ihesu, lord, yit/for thi
 moder that the bare!
 Mercy, for the teres thou grett/
 when thou rasid lazare!

Manly, *Specimens*, p. 151

Song I

As I out rode this enderes *nyght*,
 Of thre ioli sheppardes I saw a *sight*,
 And all a-bowte there fold a *star*
shone bright;
 They sange terli terlow;
 So mereli the sheppards ther pipes
 can blow.

Song II

Lully, lulla, thou littell tine child,
 By by, lully, lullay, thow littell tyne
 child,
 By by, lully, lullay!

Towneley Plays, p. 368, ll. 33-40

Brymly before vs be thai broght,
 oure dedys that shall dam vs bidene;
 That eyre has harde, or harte thoght,
 that mowthe has spokyn, or ee sene,
 That foote has gone or hande wroght,
 in any tyme that we may mene;
 ffull dere this day now bees it boght.
 alas! vnborne then had I bene!

Towneley Plays, p. 390

Ther is none so styf on stede,
 Ne none so prowde in prese,
 Ne none so dughty in his dede,
 Ne none so dere on deese,
 No kyng, no knyght, no Wight in wede,
 ffrom dede haue maide hym seese,
 Ne flesh he was wonte to fede,
 It shall be Wormes mese.

LYRIC

Jhesu mercy how may this be.
 Crist that was of Infynyt myght
 Egall to the fathir In deite
 Immortal Inpassible the
 wordlis lyght
 and wolde so take mortalite
 Jhesu mercy *ut supra*

Reliquiae Antiquae, Vol. II, p. 76

This endurs *nyght* I see a *syght*,
 A *sterre schone bryght* as day,
 And everymeng a meden song
 was *By, by, lulley!*

This lovely lady sete and song,
 and tyll hur chyld con say,
 "My son, my lord, my fadur deyr,
 why lyns thou thus in hey?
 My none swete byrd, what art thu kyd
 and knowus thi lord of ey?
 Never the lesse I will not sesse
 to syng, By by, lulley!"

Minor Poems, Ver. MS. p. 785, ll. 8-18

To ofte ich habbe, yn myne lyue,
 Ysenghed wit my wittes fyue,
 Wit eren yhered, wit eyen syght,
 Wit senfold speche dey & nyght,
 Wit cleppinges, wit kessenge also,
 Wit hondes yhandled, wit fet ygwo,
 Wit herte senfolliche ythoght;
 Wit al my body euele ywroght;
 And of al my (grete) folye,
 Mercy, lord, mercy, ich crye!

English Miscellany, p. 94

Nis non so riche, ne non so freo.
 that hē ne schal heonne. sone away.
 Ne may hit neuer his waraunt beo.
 gold. ne seoluer. vough. ne gray.
 Ne beo he no the swift. ne may he fleo
 ne weren his lif enne day.
 Thus in thes world as thu mayht seo.
 al so the schadewe that glyt away.

DRAMA

Towneley Plays, p. 371, ll. 143-47;
p. 373, ll. 183-87; p. 376, ll. 296-304;
p. 378, ll. 350-367

Of Wraggers and wrears / a bag full
of brefes,
Of carpars and cryars / of mychers
and thefes,
Of lurdans and lyars / that no man
lefys
Of flytars, of flyars / and renderars
of reffys;

Thise rolles
Ar of bakbytars,
And fals quest-dytars,
I had no help of writars
bot thise two dalles.

yit of thise kyrkchaterars / here are
a menec,
Of barganars and okerars / and lufars
of symonee,
Of runkers and rowners / god castys
thaym out, trulee,
ffrom his temple all sich mysdoers /
I each thaym then to me
ffull soyn;
ffor writen I wote it is
In the gospels, withoutten mys,
Et eam fecistis
Speluncam latronum.

And ye Ianettys of the stewys / and
lychoures on lotte,
youre baill now brewys / avowtrees
full ofte,
youre gam now grewys / I shall you
set softe,
yoursorow enewes / com to my crofte
All ye;
All harlottys and horres,
And bawdys that procures,
To bryng thaym to lures,
Welcom to my see!

LYRIC

Religious Songs (Percy Society, Vol.
XI), p. 81.

Alle bac-biteres
wendet to helle,
Robberes and reveres,
and the mon-quelle;
Lechurs and horlinges
thider sculen wende,
And ther heo sculen wunien
evert buten ende.
Alle theos false chepmen,
the feond heom wule habbe,
Bachares and brueres,
for alle men heo gabbe;
Loghe heo holdet hore galun,
mid berme heo hine fulleth,
And ever of the purse
that selver heo tulleth,
Bothe heo maketh feble
heore bred and heore ale;
Habben heo that selver,
ne tellet heo never tale.

DRAMA

ye lurdans and lyars / mychers n ad
 thefes,
 fflytars and flyars / that all men repre-
 fes,
 Spolars, extorceyonars / Welcom, my
 lefes!
 ffals Iurars and usurars / to symony
 that clevys,
 To tell;
 hasardars and dysars,
 ffals dedys forgars,
 Slanderars, bakbytars,
 All vnto hell.

Towneley Plays, p. 373, ll. 206-9;
 p. 374, ll. 211-21

Tutivillus:

Whi spir ye not, sir / no questyons?
 I am oone of youre ordir / and oone
 of youre sons;
 I stande at my tristor / when othere
 men shones.

I was youre chefe tollare,
 And sithen courte rollar,
 Now am I master lollar,
 And of sich men I mell me.

I haue broght to youre hande / of
 saules, dar I say,
 Mo than ten thowsand / in an howre
 of a day;
 som at ayll-howse I fande / and som
 of ferray,
 som cursid, som bande / som yei, som
 nay;
 so many
 Thus broght I on blure,
 thus did I my cure.

Towneley Plays, pp. 390 ff.

Ilkon in sich aray / With dede thai
 shall be dight,
 And closid colde in clay / Wheder he
 be kyng or knyght;
 ffor all his garmentes gay / that
 semely were in sight,

LYRIC

Reliquiae Antiquae, Vol. I, p. 257

TUTIVILLUS

Tutivillus, the devyl of hell,
 He wryteth har names, sothe to tel,
 admissa extrahantes.
 Beit wer be at tome for ay,
 Than her to serve the devil to pay,
 sic vana famulantes.
 Thos women that sitteth the church
 about,
 Thai beth al of the develis rowte,
 divina inpotentes.
 But thai be stil, he wil ham quell,
 With kene strokes draw hem to hell
 ad patientiam flentes.
 For his love that you der bogth,
 Hold you stil, and fangel nogth,
 sordem aperte deprecantes.
 The blis of heven than may ye wyn,
 God bryng us al to his in,
 Amen semper dicentes.

Herrigs Archiv, Vol. CIX, p. 45, xii;
 p. 46, xvi; and p. 44, vii, ll. 1-14

XII

Synful man for godis sake
 I rede that thu amendes make!

thow thu be kyng of tour and town,
 thow thu be kyng and were coroun,

DRAMA

his flesh shall frete away / With many
a wofull wight.
Then wofully sich wightys
Shall gnawe thise gay knyghtys,
Thare lunges and thare lightys,
Thare harte shall frete in sonder;
Thise masters most of myghtys
Thus shall thai be broght vnder.

Vnder the erthe ye shall / thus care-
fully then cowche;
The roye of youre hall / youre nakyd
nose shall towche;
Nawther great ne small / To you will
knele ne crowche;
A shete shall be youre pall / sich
todys shall be youre nowche;
Todys shall you dere,
fleyndys will you fere,
your flesh that fare was here
Thus rufully shall rote;
In stede of fare colore
sich bandys shall bynde youre
throthe.

Amende the, man, Whils thou may,
let neuer no myrthe fordo thi
mynde;
Thynke thou on the dredefull day
When god shall deme all man-
kynde.
Thynke thou farys as dothe the
wynde;
This warlde is wast & and will away;
Man, haue this in thi mynde,
And amende the Whils that thou
may.

Amende the, man, whils thou art
here,
Agane thou go an othere gate;
When thou art dede and laide on
bere,
Wyt thou well thou bees to late;
ffor if all the goode that euer
thou gate

LYRIC

I sette ryzt not be thi renown,
but if thou wylt amendys make.

that hast her is other menys
and so it xal ben quan thou art hens,
thi sowle xal a beye thi synnys,
but if thou wit a mendes make.

man bewar, the weye is sleder;
thou xal slyde, thou wost not qweder;
body and sowle xul go to geder,
but if thou wit a mendes make.

man ber not thi hed to heye
In pumpe and pride and velonye;
In helle thou xalt ben hangyd hye,
but if thou wilt amendes make.

XVI

I drukke I dare so wil I may
quan I thynke on my endys day.

I am a chyld and born ful bare
and bar out this word xal fare,
zyt am I but wermys ware
thow I clothis go neuer so gay.

Thow I be of meche prys,
fayr of face and holdyn wys,
my fleysch xul fadyn as flour de lys
quan I am ded and leyd in clay.

quan I am ded and leyd in ston,
I xal rotyn fleych and bon,
fro myn fryndys I xal gon,
cryst help myn sowle quan I ne may!

Quan I xal al my frendes for sake,
cryst schyld me fro the fendes blake!
to Jesu cryst my sowle I be take,
to be our helpe on domys day!

VII

Gay, gay, gay, gay,
Think on drydful domis day!

DRAMA

Were delt for the after thi day,
In heuen it wolde not mende thi
state,
fforthi amende the Whils thou may.

If thou be right ryall in rente,
As is the stede standyng in stall,
In thi harte knowe and thynke
That thai ar goddys goodys all.
he myght haue maide the poore and
small
As he that beggys fro day to day;
Wit thou well accountys gif thou
shall,
Therefore amende the whils thou may.

Towneley Plays, p. 107, ll. 213-39.

primus pastor.

Set mustard afore,
oure mete now begyns;

here a foote of a cowe / well sawsed,
I wene,
The pestell of a sowe / that powderd
has bene,
Two blodyngeis, I trow / A leueryng
betwene;
Do gladly, syrs now / my breder be-
dene,
With more.
Both befe and moton
Of an ewe that was roton,
Good mete for a gloton;
Ete of this store.

ijus pastor.

I haue here in my mayll / sothen
and rost,
Euen of an ox tayll / that wold not be
lost;
ha, ha, goderhayll! I let for no cost;
A good py or we fayll / this is good
for the frost
In a mornyng;
And two swyne gronys,
All a hare bot the lonys,

LYRIC

Euery day thu myzt lere
to help thi self qwil thu art hero.
guan thu art ded and leyd on bere,
cryst help thi sowle for thu ne may!

Think man on thy wyttes fyue,
do sum good qwyl thu art on lyve,
go to cherche and do the schryve
and bryng thi sowle in good aray!

Thynk man on thi synnys seuene,
think how merie it is in heuene,
prey to god with mylde stefne
he be thin helpe on domys day!

Rel. Antiquae, Vol. I, p. 325

BURLESQUE RECEIPT

Take nine pound of thunder, six lega
of a swan,
The wool of a frog,
The juice of a log,
Well parboil'd together in the skin of
a hog,
With the egg of a moon-calf, if get it
you can.
The love of false harlots,
The faith of false varlets,
With the truth of decoys, that walk
in their scarlets,
And the feathers of a lobster well
fry'd in a pan;
Nine drops of rain,
Brought hither from Spain,
With the blast of a bellows quite over
the main;
With eight quarts of brimston, brew'd
in a beer can;
Six pottles of lard,
Squeezed from a rock hard,
With nine turkey eggs, each as long
as a yard;
With a pudding of hail stones well
bak'd in a pan:
These med'cines are good,
And approved have stood,

DRAMA

we myster no sponys
here at oure mangyng.

ijus pastor.

here is to recorde / the leg of a goys,
with chekyns endorde / pork, partryk
to roys;

A tart for a lorde / how thynk ye this
doys?

A calf lyuer skorde / with veryose;

Y., XLVIII, ll. 229-330

Deus.

Ilke a creature, takes entent,
What bodworde I to you bringe,
This wofull worlde away is wente,
And I am come as crouned kyng.
Mi fadir of heuene, he has me sente,
To deme youre dedis and make ending,
Comen is the day of iugement,
O sorowe may ilke a synfull synge.
The day is comen of kaydyfnes,
All tham to care that are vnclene,
The day of bale and bittirnes,
Full longe abedyn has it bene,
The day of drede to more and lesse,
Of care, of trymbelyng and of tene.
That ilke a wight that weried is
May say, alas! this daye is sene!

Mi blissid childre on my right hande,
Your dome this day ye thar not drede,
For all youre comforte is command,
Your life in likyng schall ye lede.
Commes to the kyngdome ay lastand,
That you is dight for youre goode
dede,

Full blithe may ye be where ye
stande,
For mekill in heuene schall be youre
mede.

When I was hungry ye me fedde,
To slake my thirste youre harte was
free,

Whanne I was clothles ye me cledde,
Ye wolde no sorowe vppon me see.

LYRIC

Well tempered together with a pottle
of blood,
Squeezed from a grasshopper and the
nail of a swan.

Pr. of C., ll. 6096-6213.

And delyverd be until the devels
powers.

Ful wa sal synful men be that day,
And til helle pyne be put for ay,
And tharfor men may calle that day,
The grete day of delyveraunce,
The day of wreke and of vengeaunce,
The day of wrethe and of wrechednes,
The day of bale and of bitternes,
The day of pleynnyng and accusyng,
The day of answer and of strait rek-
kenyng,

The day of iugements and Iuwys,
The day of angre and of angwys,
The day of drede and of tremblyng,
The day of gretynge and gculyng,
The day of crying and of duleful dyn,
The day of sorow that never sal blyn,
The day of flaying and of afray,
The day of merrynge and of myrknes,
That day that es last and that mast es,
The dai when Crist sal make ende of
alle;

Thus may nan discryve that day and
calle.

Our loverd that alle thyng can se and
witt

At the dredeful day of dome sal sitt,
Als kyng and rightwyse domesman,
In dome to deme alle the world than,
Opon the setil of his magesté.
That day sal alle men byfor hym be,
Bathe gude and ille, mare and les;
Than sal noght be done but right-
wysnes.

DRAMA

In harde preesse whan I was stedde,
Of my paynes ye hadde pitee,
Full seke whan I was brought in
bedde

Kyndely ye come to coumforte me.
Whanne I was wikke and werieste
Ye herbered me full hartefully,
Full gladd theanne were ye of youre
geste,
And pleyned my pouerte piteously.
Be-lyue ye brought me of the beste.
And made my bedde full esyly;
Therefore in heuene schall be youre
reste,
In ioie and blisse to be me by.

i. an. bona.

Whanne hadde we, lorde, that all has
wroght,
Meete and drinke the with to feede?
Sen we in erthe hadde neuere nought
But thurgh the grace of thy godhede.

ii. an. bona.

Whanne waste that we the clothes
brought,
Or visite the in any nede?
Or in thi sikenes we the sought,
Lorde, when did we the this dede?

Deus.

Mi blissid childir, I schall you saye,
What tyme this dede was to me done,
When any that nede hadde, nyght or
day,

Askid you helpe and hadde it sone.
Youre fre hartis saide them neuere
nay,

Erely ne late, mydday ne none,
But als ofte sithis as thei wolde praye,
Thame thurte but bide, and haue
ther bone.

Ye cursid caytifis of Kaymes kynne,
That neuere me comforte in my care,
I and ye for euer will twynne,
In dole to dwelle for suermare;
Youre bittir bailes shall neuer blynne,

LYRIC

He sal deme al men of ilka degré,
Til ioi or payne that demed sal be,
And rightwyse domes-man and suth-
fast

And gyf a fynal dome at the last.
Bot how he sal deme I sal shewe,
Als telles the godspelle of Mathewe;
Hys angels than, aftir his wille,
Sal first departe the gude fra the ille,
Als the hird the shepe dus fra the
gayte,
That falles to be putt til pastur strayt.
By the shepe understand we may
The gude men that sal be saved that
day.

By the gayte understand we may
The ille men, that than dampned sal
be.

The gude sal be sette on his right
hand,
And the ille on his lefte syde sal
stand;

Than sal our loverd say thus that tyde
Til tham that standes on his right
syde:

*Venite, benedicti patris mei,
possidete paratum nobis regnum
a constitutione mundi.*

He sal say than, "commes now til me,
My fadir blissed childer fre,
And weldes the kyngdom that til
yhow es dight
Fra first that the world was ordaynd
right."

For I hungerd and yhe me fedde,
I thrested and at drynk yhe me bedde;
Of herber grete nede I had,
Yhe herberd me with hert glad,
Naked I was, als yhe myght se,
Yhe gaf me clathes and clad me;
Seke I was and in ful wayke state,
Yhe wisit me, bathe arly and late;
In prisoun when I was halden stille,
Til me yhe come with ful gude wille.
Than sal the rightwys men that day,
Til our loverd answer thus and say;

DRAMA

That ye shall haue when ye come
thare.

Thus haue ye serued for youre synne,
For derffe dedis ye haue done are.

Whanne I had mistir of mete and
drynke,

Caytifflis, ye cacched me from youre
gate,

Whanne ye were sette as sirs on
benke,

I stode ther-oute, werie and wette,
Was none of yowe wolde on me thynke
Pyte to haue of my poure state;

Ther-fore till hell I schall ye synke,
Weele are ye worthy to go that gate.

Whanne I was seke and soriest,
Ye visitte me noght, for I was poure,

In prisounne faste whan I was feste,
Was none of you lokod howe I fore.

Whenne I wiste neuere where for to
reste,

With dyntes ye draffe me fro your
dore,

Butte euer to pride thanne were ye
preste,

Mi flessch, my bloode ofte ye for-swore.
Clothes whanne I was ofte, and colde,

At nede of you yede I full naked,
House ne herborow, helpe ne holde,

Hadde I none of you, thof I quaked.
Mi mischeffe sawe ye many-folde,

Was none of you mysorowe slaked,
Butt euere for-soke me, yonge and

alde,
Therefore schall ye now be for-saked.

i. aia. mala.

Whan had thou, lorde that all thyng
has,

Hungir or thirste? sen thou god is,
Whan was thou in prisonne was,

Whan was thou naked or herberles?
ii. aia. mala.

Whan was it we sawe the seke, allas!
Whan kid we the this vnkyndinesse,

Werie or wette to late the passe,
When did we the this wikkidnesse?

LYRIC

'Loverd when saw we the hungry,
And to gyf the mete war we redy;
And when myght we the thresty se,
And gaf the drynk with hert fre;
When saw we the nede of herber have,
And to herber the vouched save;
When saw we the naked and we the
cled,

And when saw we the seke and in
prison sted,

And visited the with gude wille,
And comforted the, als was skille?

Our loverd sal than tham answer thus,
And say, als the godspelle shewes us:

'Suthly I say yhou, swa yhe wrought,
That ilka tyme when yhe did oght

Until an of the lest that yhe myght
se

Of my brether, yhe did til me.'
Than sal our loverd til alle thas say,

That than on his lefte syde sal stand
that day,

And spek til tham with an austerne
chere,

Thir wordes that er hydus to here:
Discedite a me maledicti, in ignem

*eternum, qui preparatus est diabolo
et angelis eius.*

"yhe weryed wyghtes wende fra my
sight,

Until the endeles fire that es dight
Til the devel and til his aungels."

And than sal he say thus, als the
buke tels,

'I hungred and had defaute of mete,
and yhe wald noght gyfe me at ete;

I thrested, and of drynk had nede,
And yhe wald na drynk me bede;

I wanted herber, that I oft soght,
And alle that time yhe herberd me

noght;
Naked with-uten clothes I was,

And with-uten clothes yhe let me
pas;

Seke I was, and bedred lay,
And yhe visite me nouthur nyght ne

day;

DRAMA

Deus.

Caistiffis, als ofte als it be-tidde
 That nedfull aught askid in my name
 Ye herde them noght, youre eris ye
 hidde,
 Your helpe to thame was noght at
 hame.

To me was that unkyndines kyd,—
 There-fore bere this bittir blame,
 To leste or moste whan ye it did,
 To me ye did the selue and the same.
 Mi chosen childir, comes vnto me,
 With me to wonne nowe schall ye
 wende,
 There joie and blisse schall euer be,
 Your liffe in lyking schall ye lende,
 Ye cursed kaitiffis, fro me ye flee,
 In helle to dwelle with-outen ende,
 Ther ye schall neuere butt sorow see
 And sitte be Satanas the fende.

LYRIC

In prison I was, als wele wyst yhe
 And yhe wald na tyme com til me.
 Than sal thai answere, als men sal
 here,

Til our loverd, and say on this man-
 ere:

"Loverd when saw we the haf hunger
 or thrist

Or of any herber haf grete brist;
 Or naked, or seke, or in prison be,
 And we na thyng did ne mynystred
 to the?"

Than sal our loverd answer ogayne
 And say til tham thir wordes cer-
 tayne:

'Suthly I say yhou, als falles tharto,
 Alle tyme that yhe wald noght do
 Til ane of lest that myne er kydde,
 Als lang til me yhe noght didde.'

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HINDU CHIPS FOR READERS OF GOETHE

In Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* (Wien, 1818), p. 108, the following legend is translated from Nizami's *Machsenol-esrar*, i. e., *Magazin der Geheimnisse*:

Herr Jesus, der die Welt durchwandert,
Ging einst an einem Markt vorbei.
Ein todter Hund lag auf dem Wege,
Geschleppt vor des Hauses Thor.
Es stand ein Haufe um das Aas,
Raubvögeln gleich, die Aeser fressen.
Der eine sprach: Es wird das Hirn
Von dem Gestank ganz ausgelöscht.
Der andre sprach: Was braucht es viel,
Der Gräber Auswurf bringt nur Unglück.
So sang ein Jeder seine Weise,
Des todten Hundes Leib zu schmähen.
Als nun an Jesus kam die Reih',
Sprach ohne Schmähn er guten Sinns,
Er sprach aus gütiger Natur:
Die Zähne sind wie Perlen weiss.
Dies Wort macht den Umstehenden
Verbrannten Muscheln ähnlich, heiss.

As is well known, these verses, with a slight change (in line 6), are found in Goethe's *Westöstlicher Divan: Noten und Abhandlungen—Allgemeines*.

Thus this legend has become common property, and other German writers have retold it.

The same tale occurs in the oldest collection of Jaina stories, in the *Avacyaka-Erzählungen* (ed. Leumann), Heft I, pp. 34-37. Leumann gives a number of different versions, some older, some younger. The legend is told of Vāsudeva, Vinhu, Hari, Kaṇha, Kesava, i. e., Viṣṇu or Kṛiṣṇa, of whom the Jainas have a number of tales.

One day Sakka, the king of the gods, in heaven in the midst of the gods, praised the virtues of Vāsudeva, saying: "Ah, the excellence of superior men like Hari, who only see the good side in men and things,

even if there are a hundred thousand faults!" One of the gods there, not believing this, went to Vāsudeva's city. Vāsudeva had set out on a pilgrimage to worship the Jina. The god assumed the form of a dead dog, black, of hideous aspect, smelling very badly, and thus lay near the road on which Vāsudeva was to return. When Kapha together with his retinue came back, all the people of his train covered their faces with their garments, went out of their way, and hurried on. But Vāsudeva walked ahead on the path just as before. When he came up to the carcass, he neither averted nor covered his face, but looked at the teeth of the animal and said: "The teeth of this dead dog are like a row of pearls."

I give this scrap without attempting to discuss the question which of the two stories is derived or borrowed. It is well known that many legends about Jesus occur in Persian literature. As regards Krishna, it seems clear that some of the many myths of this god were influenced by Christianity. Especially Albrecht Weber has tried to establish such a dependence. The sources of Nizami, the Muhammedan legends of Jesus, the relation between Christ and Krishna—all of these things have to be carefully investigated before the priority either of the Hindu or of the Persian version of our legend can be established, provided, of course, that no Indian form which clearly goes back to a time before Christ can be produced.

The reader will have noticed the resemblance of this story to Goethe's *Prolog im Himmel* and to the beginning of the Book of Job, which furnished the German poet with the model. But in this case I do not believe in a *nexus causalis* at all. The idea (conversation in heaven—disbelief—trial of the great or good) is natural enough, so that it can have sprung up independently in different lands and times. Compare *Indische Studien*, XV, pp. 410–17. Some of the parallels, however, given there by Weber, are no real parallels. I subjoin another Jaina story, in a work of later date and published in Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshtrī*, pp. 26, 27:

And one day the Indra of Sohamma, seated on his throne in the assembly hall of Sohamma, was seeing the play *Soyāmini*. At this juncture a god from the Isāna heaven whose name was Samgama, came to the Indra of Sohamma. And by the brightness of his body the splendor of all the gods present in the assembly hall vanished; as the stars at the rising of the sun, so the immortals became lusterless. When he had gone,

the astonished immortals questioned the Indra of Sohamma as follows: "Why, O Lord, has this god Samgama a splendor surpassing that of twelve sunrises?" Indra said: "In a former life he performed the penance called ayambilabaddamāna." Then the gods again questioned Indra as follows: "Is there also another who is endowed with such splendor and beauty?" Indra said: "In Hatthināura, in the Kuru race, there is a universal sovereign, Saṇamkumāra by name, whose splendor and beauty surpass even that of the gods." Thereupon the gods Vijaya and Vejaya, not believing this, went in the form of Brahmins. Thereupon admitted by the doorkeeper they entered into the presence of the king. And they saw the king occupied in anointing himself with perfume and oil. They were astonished to see a perfection of beauty and other excellences even greater than the splendor of beauty described by Indra. And they were asked by the king: "Why have you come here?" They said: "Your beauty is being praised in the three worlds; from curiosity to see it (we come)." And again the king, proud of his extreme beauty, addressed them: "Hear, hear, O Brahmins! how could you have seen my beauty! Wait a little while till I enter the hall of audience." "Yes," said the Brahmins and went out. But the universal sovereign quickly bathed, and having put on ornaments, finery, and an elegant dress, he sat down on the throne. The Brahmins were called. When they saw his body they were sad. And they said: "Alas, that the beauty, grace, and youthful bloom of men should be seen one moment and then vanish!" Hearing this the universal monarch said: "Hear! why do you, utterly plunged in sorrow, find fault with my body?" They said: "Great king, the beauty, youthful bloom, and splendor of the gods remain from the first moment till only six months of their life are left; then they diminish. Those of men, on the other hand, increase till the middle of life has come; thereupon they wane. But a miracle is seen in regard to the brilliancy of your beauty and youthful bloom, for even now it has vanished in a moment like the friendship of a villain." The king said: "How do you know?" They told him the matter, beginning with the praises of Indra. And astonished he looked at his two arms, bedecked with armlets, and saw that they were dim; and he noticed that his breast also, adorned with the pearl necklace, was wan. And he reflected: "Alas for the instability of the samsāra! Alas for the vanity of the body! Even in such a short time beauty, youthful bloom, and splendor have disappeared. Therefore attachment to existence is not meet."

The king goes on descanting further on the vanity and inanity of life, bids farewell to kingship and realm, and becomes a wandering ascetic.

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FRIEDRICH HEINRICH JACOBI'S HOME AT PEMPELFORT

Jacobi's home at Pempelfort can best be compared with Gleim's "Tempel der Freundschaft" at Halberstadt. Jacobi had a similar longing to gather about him all masters of literature and philosophy. He did not, like Gleim, however, as a protector of younger talents, earn for himself the title of "Father of Literature," nor did he try to inspire all his protégés in a certain unhealthy direction, like Gleim, who forever harped upon his Anacreon and tried to influence his followers toward falsely sentimental and absurd lyrics. While aiding his friends as much as he could, Jacobi mainly sought inspiration for himself from his associations. In a letter to Marianne (I, 328; July, 1770) he characterizes his choice of friends thus: "Who then has not what I need, nor needs what I have, is and remains a stranger to me. Surreptitious, feigned, theatrical friendship—I know nothing more despicable."

His letters show that he always knew how to profit from each new acquaintance, and that he was anxious to teach and help wherever he could. His friends were a necessary factor in his life. Though he showed himself capable of earnest research, yet to be at all productive, direct incitation from one interested in his work was absolutely necessary. His first work was not commenced until Goethe had repeatedly urged him to produce some original writing, and all his other essays are written directly to friends, mostly as personal letters.

Jacobi's relation as a philosopher to his contemporaries has been repeatedly outlined by such men as Dykes, Zirngiebl, Schaumberg, and others. I therefore wish to give a general picture of his home at Pempelfort, to show how he gathered about him the best talents of his day, and perhaps to find some reason for his popularity.

Friedrich H. Jacobi was the son of a well-to-do merchant of Düsseldorf. He therefore received a careful training, but one so colored with religious and fantastic elements that at fifteen he was

a devout Pietist, a lonely dreamer. His father was rather pleased with his saintly ways, but when he wished him to be of some assistance at the sugar plant, he found him utterly worthless. Friedrich was therefore sent to Geneva, to enjoy a more thorough education and to lose his dreamy ways in the society of stronger men. There the mathematician and philosopher LeSage especially helped to give his mind a more practical turn, and when Jacobi returned to Düsseldorf in 1762, he was not only more refined, more practical, and improved in health, but he had learned to do independent thinking and research, which enabled him to defend his peculiar philosophy even against such men as Kant, Hegel, and Schelling.

With good success he took hold of his father's business, and soon after married Betty von Clermont, the daughter of a wealthy merchant of Aachen. He was now in position to realize his favorite ambition and gather friends at his home who could help him forget the tedious hours of factory life.

Through his persistent efforts he soon became acquainted with many men who played important parts in the development of the literature of the times. Seldom did a stranger who had come to visit the art galleries or the newly established academy at Düsseldorf leave the town without having called at Pempelfort, where a cordial reception promised a pleasant and profitable entertainment. Sometimes the house was literally overcrowded with visitors, but seldom did Jacobi complain of it as in a letter to Wieland of May 29, 1774:

Since yesterday my house must lodge ten guests; every corner is taken. But this would mean little; gladly would I surrender more, if I but could remain master of my own skin. But that, too, must go; and since it must be so, I will give it cheerfully, so that I may feel as though I take a pleasure in so doing.

His circle of acquaintances made his business obligations weigh more and more heavily upon him, so that when his friend, the Count of Goltstein, governor of the Rhine Province and Westphalia, offered him a position as *Hofkammerrat*, "secretary of the chamber," with a special supervision over the tax system, he gladly accepted, since at this time he was successfully occupying

himself with the study of various branches of political economy, and the new position gave him more leisure to devote to his friends.

The first of his great contemporaries to enter Jacobi's circle was Wieland. Jacobi had first made the acquaintance of Wieland through his older brother, Johann Georg, whom Wieland had greatly assisted in the development of his lyrics; but they became intimate only after the personal meeting at the home of their mutual friend, Sophia von Laroche, in Ehrenbreitstein. The letter in which Jacobi describes this meeting is filled with that excess of sentimentality which still was prevalent in the literature of the age. There are the usual flood of tears, the extravagance of emotion and embrace, and the solemn vows always to remain the best of friends. During the next few years it seemed as though these vows were really sincere. Wieland spent considerable time at Pempelfort laying great plans for co-operating with Jacobi in new literary enterprises. Jacobi, on the other hand, was devoting himself more and more to his popular philosophy, and from Wieland's *Agathon* had reason to believe that he had found a friend who could be of some assistance to him in this direction. The first and only important result of their plans was the beginning of the *Deutsche Merkur*, of which Jacobi seems to have been the original promoter, though his enthusiasm was of but short duration. Two years after the first number had appeared (1774) we find that the friends had already practically separated. Jacobi had not found in Wieland the popular philosopher he had looked for, and therefore his interest soon died away. It seems as though he used every small dissension to widen the breach which had been brought about by a criticism published by Wieland in the *Merkur*, in which he spoke favorably of a novel by Fr. Nicolai in which Johann Georg Jacobi was mercilessly derided. This founding of the *Merkur*, however, is of sufficient importance to make the friendship of Jacobi and Wieland a memorable one. In this periodical appeared Jacobi's first philosophical work, *Allwills Brief-Sammlung*, and by bringing together as contributors many of the best-known and most popular men of the period it greatly helped to increase Jacobi's popularity.

Among the guests at Pempelfort as early as 1773 we find Diderot, who had just completed his encyclopaedia. Jacobi praises his fiery spirit and his bold and quick wit, but believes that it is not a predominating sense for beauty and truth which stamps him as a genius, if he in truth be a genius at all.

Soon afterward, Goethe, who had just attracted the attention of the whole literary world through his *Goetz von Berlichingen*, became intimately attached to Jacobi. This was the friendship of which Jacobi was proudest, which benefited him most, and which, with few insignificant interruptions, lasted till the end of his life. The relations of Goethe with Jacobi have, however, been so thoroughly exhausted by the biographers of Goethe and in writings on Jacobi that I shall pass them by with this mere mention. The fact, however, that Goethe allied himself so closely with Jacobi and for a long time sent him his manuscripts for the first criticism, mostly following his advice very closely, proves sufficiently that Jacobi was a man of no ordinary ability and judgment. Goethe also derived much benefit from Jacobi, especially in the earlier days of their friendship. By Jacobi he was first introduced more thoroughly into the philosophy of Spinoza. Jacobi, on the other hand, owed practically his whole literary career to Goethe. Goethe induced him to undertake to write his first philosophic treatise, and during the rest of his life furnished that incentive without which Jacobi would probably have remained forever silent.

At this point it may be of interest to quote a passage from Johann Georg Jacobi's diary (as yet little known), describing his first meeting with Goethe:

H. Goethe hat mich in öffentlichen Blättern empfindlich beleidigt, aber auch hat er das Trauerspiel *Goetz von Berlichingen* geschrieben. Wir gaben uns die Hand. Ich sah einen der ausserordentlichsten Männer, voll hohen Genies, glühender Einbildungs-Kraft, tiefer Empfindung, rascher Laune, dessen starker, dann und wann riesenmässiger Geist einen ganz eigenen Gang nimmt. Seine Tafel-Reden hätt' ich aufzuzeichnen gewünscht.

Soon after, Klopstock also appears among Jacobi's friends. At first Jacobi seems to have been very enthusiastic over him, so that

Wieland grew jealous and wrote: "Goethe and Klopstock have taken possession of your soul, and next to these there is no place for Wieland." Klopstock, however, never visited Pempelfort, and in literary fields Jacobi, who was especially interested in the most modern movements, met rarely with Klopstock.

Another of his great contemporaries whom Jacobi tried in vain to entice to Pempelfort was Lessing. Lessing had first come into touch with the Pempelfort circle through Johann Georg Jacobi, who often passed through Wolfenbüttel, where Lessing resided at the time. In an attempt to bring about a more intimate friendship, Jacobi sent Lessing a copy of *Woldemar*, his latest work. This Lessing criticized very favorably, and in return sent Jacobi a copy of *Nathan der Weise*. In 1780 Jacobi spent some time with Lessing in Wolfenbüttel, discussing with him his favorite topic, the philosophy of Spinoza. He found Lessing discontented and in poor health and urged him to come to Pempelfort, offering to put a whole suite of rooms at his disposal. Lessing, however, did not accept, and, as he died soon after, Jacobi had no opportunity to renew his invitation. In his letters to Mendelssohn and in his treatise, "Was Lessing a Follower of Spinoza?" Jacobi gives a detailed account of their first meeting at Wolfenbüttel.

With others Jacobi was more fortunate. In the next few years we find enrolled among his guests such names as Amalia von Galitzin, Hemsterhuys, Lavater, Dohm, Forster, Hamann, Count Stolberg and his brother, Countess Julia Reventlow, Gleim, and others—representatives of the most varied literary movements.

As the last stragglers of passing Anacreonticism, Johann Georg Jacobi and Gleim imagined the large and beautiful garden at Pempelfort turned into an Elysium, and in the little muddy Düsseldorf brook they saw the nymphs and muses necessary to inspire them to their sentimental rimes. Johann Georg even succeeded in making a boat-ride on this streamlet the occasion for one of the best of his little ditties:

Bei der stillen Mondes-Helle
Treiben wir mit frohem Sinn
Auf dem Bächlein, ohne Welle,
Hin und her und her und hin.

Schifflein! gehst und kehrest wieder
 Ohne Segel, ohne Mast;
 Bächlein! trägst uns auf und nieder,
 Spielend mit der kleinen Last.

Nichts zu fürchten, nichts zu meiden
 Ist, so weit das Auge sieht.
 Flüstert leis! ihr jungen Weiden!
 Mädchen! singt ein Abendlied!

Denn zu Ruhm und eitlen Schätzen
 Lockt uns nicht das ferne Meer;
 Suchen friedliches Ergötzen,
 Schwimmen unbekannt umher.

Mädchen! gebt des Herzens Freuden,
 Wenn ihr sicher leben wollt,
 Gebt sie, mässig und bescheiden,
 Nicht um Ehre, nicht um Gold.

Treues Lieben und Gefallen
 Sei mit reiner Lust gepaart,
 Und, wie dieses Schiffleins Wallen,
 Ruhig einst die letzte Fahrt!

The *Mädchen* who were at Pempelfort from time to time, and to whom Jacobi directed his flatteries, were among the foremost blue-stockings of the day.

In March, 1781, Princess Amalia of Gallitzin, the former Countess of Schmettow, came to Pempelfort with Hemsterhuys—Diotema with her Diocles, as Jacobi called them. This peculiar woman had withdrawn wholly from court circles, while her husband served as Russian ambassador at The Hague, and built a country home, which she called "Niet t' Huys" ("not at home"), there to devote herself wholly to her literary hobbies, surrounded by a circle of literary men. Jacobi visited her at this place; she returned the visit; and remained at Pempelfort for a week, during which time she modeled a bust of Jacobi, while Hemsterhuys drew a pen-sketch of him, which are still considered by many the best likenesses we have of Jacobi.

Sophia von Laroche was a frequent guest at Pempelfort. Her moralistic novels, that made her at the time the most popular blue-stocking, very likely suggested to Jacobi the form for his *Alwill*

and *Woldemar*. She was also for some time the go-between for Jacobi and Goethe, and helped much in bringing about their friendship. Countess Julia Reventlow also joined the circle. The women, however, who helped most to make Jacobi's home attractive were those of his own household. Foremost among these was Jacobi's wife, Betty, whom Goethe describes as a "splendid woman from the Netherlands, without a touch of sentimentality, of correct judgment, pleasant in conversation, without an expression of sensuality, and whose sturdy nature reminds one of Rubens' women."

Betty and Jacobi's sister, Charlotte, were by Goethe considered especially adapted to adjust the difference which then existed between the North and the South German poets, the former of whom still showed a predominance of sentimentality and sensibility, while the latter were characterized by coarseness and a sharp and at times insulting wit. And nowhere could Goethe study these characteristics to better advantage than at Pempelfort, where he found men from both classes assembled.

That Betty was the center of interest almost as much as Jacobi himself can best be seen from the general sorrow which her early death caused among all who had been her guests. Jacobi himself was almost despondent. To his brother-in-law, Johann Arnold von Clermont, he writes:

Our saint, my friend, has departed. I pray to her, and she helps me. Her spirit has not left me, and it demands that I console you. Betty lives!—She lives, and I have now what I demanded from heaven, a sign of immortality and God; and she, whose whole being was sacrifice, this saint has died, to give me this sign, to bear me this witness, that I might remain with her forever!

To Johanna Fahlmer, an aunt of Jacobi and a mutual friend of Goethe and himself, at this time married to Georg Schlosser, he writes:

I saw the countenance of an angel, and am certain that she knew in the last moment that her way led toward heaven and that she could bring bliss upon mankind.

Finally, to his new friend Hamann he says:

I had lived with her for twenty years, from my twenty-first year on, and have never seen anyone whom I could compare with her in purity, grandeur of heart, love, or truthfulness.

Of the letters written to Jacobi, that of Herder is perhaps worthy of mention. He writes:

I am silent to your pain and feel wholly your wound, because, even if not from a personal meeting, yet from descriptions I know your departed friend as though she stood before me. But compose yourself; be a man, a philosopher, a Christian. The last will console you most. We go about here in disguise, and first after uncovering do we become what we should and shall be.

After Betty's death a marked change took place in Jacobi. What up to this time he had gathered through actual experience, through the meeting with his friends, or from books, he now used as a weapon against what seemed to him the ever more predominant realistic tendencies. Of this enemy he became a zealous opponent, with Herder and Hamann as his trusted associates. In endless work he tried to kill the slowly passing time. In 1785 he began the discussion with Mendelssohn as to whether Lessing was a follower of Spinoza. He also left Pempelfort oftener, and devoted much of his time to the study of Kant. He corresponded extensively with Lavater, with whom he became very intimate, and also with Georg Forster, who at that time resided in Göttingen because the Crimean War had kept him from undertaking his trip around the world, on an appointment which he had received from Katherine of Russia.

Soon, however, Jacobi received as his guest at Pempelfort Hamann, whom he esteemed highly as his most faithful co-worker. On August 12, 1787, Hamann first appeared at Pempelfort to exchange ideas with his friend and in the hope of obtaining some rest for his overstrung nerves. Hamann had been used to the simplest of lives, devoid of all comforts, and could hardly feel at home in the comfortable and over-hospitable abode of Jacobi. For almost six weeks he remained at Pempelfort, during which time numerous visitors arrived to be introduced to the strange guest. When finally it became colder and Jacobi's sister offered to provide him with warmer clothing, he secretly disappeared. Not until five weeks after did he write to Jacobi to excuse his flight:

Have you not noticed, dear Jonathan, that the two Amazons have conspired, in spite of my old age, to rob me of all my philosophy, and of all your favorite prejudice for it upon which our friendship rests. I have

been received into your house as an angel from heaven. Should I then attribute this exertion and extravagance of piety only to my need, or not more to your prejudice for friendship? True thankfulness is invincible and satisfies neither through bows nor through words. It turns its back on the object of its admiration, and does not wish to be seen.

But Jacobi had profited much from Hamann's visit, and his correspondence with his new friend was the greatest help to him in his work. To Lavater he describes this visit:

I cannot express to you how this association with Hamann has made me believe most improbable things. A true *Har* is this man, in harmony and disharmony, in light and darkness, in spiritualism and materialism.

As often as Jacobi remained at Pempelfort for any length of time he was immediately overrun with guests. During only two months of 1789 his letters tell of visits from Herr von Clermont, Princess Gallitzin, Minister von Fürstenberg, Hemsterhuys, Buchholz with his entire family, Baron von Gleichen, Prince Gallitzin, Count Windisch-Grätz, and above all Wilhelm von Humboldt. Humboldt stayed at Pempelfort several days, and on his departure Jacobi gave him a letter of introduction to Lavater, saying: "His speculative mind, his extraordinary intellect, will delight you. I think him a man of the highest intelligence."

This gathering of illustrious friends makes Jacobi's garden a most interesting spot for the student of the eighteenth century. The greater part of the garden is still preserved and is now owned by the Malkasten Verein. Of Jacobi's house only a part is standing, but the garden is preserved almost as he himself planned it in 1790. In the farthest corner to the right is an old tree in which many of the guests cut their names, and among these that of Goethe can still be clearly recognized.

The popularity of Gleim is attributed mainly to the fact that he was a man of abundant resources, which he used to act the part of a Maecenas, and that his friends never turned to him in vain for help in any of their enterprises. As reasons for Jacobi's popularity, on the other hand, usually are mentioned his magnificent character, his intense interest in every branch of literature, and the broad and clear view in his criticisms. His friendship with Goethe, and even more his lucid criticism of Kant, prove

sufficiently that he had all these qualities in no slight degree. Yet his wealth and his excessive generosity must also have been a great drawing-card for many of the men who gathered at Pempelfort. This is perhaps but little believed. Some of his biographers even say that he spent most of his money in keeping his garden and house comfortable for his guests, and that he had little left wherewith to play the Maecenas. We know, however, that he supplied abundant money to keep the *Merkur* well under way, and also that he sent Heinse to Italy for three years to finish his *Ardinghello*. Besides, there was a marked falling-off in Jacobi's popularity after he was forced to give up Pempelfort in 1795 and became a man of only moderate means.

A manuscript which I succeeded in acquiring about two years ago helps to throw light on the reason for his popularity. It is a simple ledger of Jacobi's accounts during a few of his last years at Pempelfort. It shows that he was spending sums far beyond his income, to allow his friends to enjoy every possible luxury, and that besides he was loaning money freely to his friends, and in his accounts noted these items as loans which he never expected would be paid back to him. His common expenses alone, not including these so-called loans, for not fully four years show a diminution in capital of 12,000 reichsthalers, which would amount to about \$36,000, assuming that money had at that time at least three times the purchasing value of today. Some idea of the sort of reception he offered his guests can best be gotten from his wine account which for the single year of 1790 amounted to 625 thalers, which, again considering the purchasing value of money in those days and the fact that Jacobi lived on the Rhine, would be equivalent to at least \$2,000. His book account for the four years 1788-91 was 2,805 thalers, much of which must also be considered as a simple patronage of his friends.

The most interesting item, however, is the list of direct loans for the year 1791 which he never expected would be paid back. One Leuchsenring, very likely a young literary aspirant, heads the list with a loan of 4,246 thalers; Professor Werthes, 978; Laroche, 546.40; Forster, 240; Mahler Müller, 166. The loans of that year alone amounted to 6,177 thalers.

Surely Gleim, with his moderate salary, could not afford to act the Maecenas to any such extent. But Jacobi made no show of his generosity, for in his letters we find hardly a trace of that which the ledger discloses. Even when, on account of this liberal aid to his friends, his property was reduced to a dangerously small capital, he did not turn to them for help, but succeeded through his own efforts in obtaining the presidency of the Academy of Sciences in Munich, which again made it possible for him to lead the life he had accustomed himself to. But his home at Pempelfort he was obliged to let pass into the hands of strangers.

OTTO MANTHEY-ZORN

AMHERST COLLEGE

GALAHAD AND PERCEVAL

FROM THE "TRISTAN" MS ADD. 5474, FF. 142^c - 164^b
BRITISH MUSEUM*

(SIR THOMAS MALORY'S *Le Morte Darthur*, Books XI and XII)

I

Me sire tristran¹ qui en la ioieuse garde demouroit toutes uois auoec la roine yseut estoit auques apareillies entour la pasque² auoit grant uolente quil sen alast el roiaume de loenois seiourner tout cel este. & la roine si estoit bien acordee. mais puis que tristran entendi que li rois enuoioit ses lettres a tous ceus qui de li tenoient terre & leur mandoit 5 quil tenroit sa court a kamaalot la plus riche que il onques tenist. quant tristran ot ces noueles il dit quil ne se mouuera huimais du roiaume de logres deuant quil aura ueue ceste court. & pour ce remest il adont & dist quil ira sans faille il nel laira en nule maniere quil ne soit de cest acort. car il pense bien quil i ara haute cheualerie & grant affaire i porra ueoir 10 por ce dist tristran quil demoura el roiaume de logres por ueoir ceste feste que li rois doit tenir. il demande a ma dame yseut sele uenra a ceste court por ceste grande feste a ueoir ou toutes les dames de ualour & toutes les damoiseles du roiaume de logres verront. sire fait ele vostre grace iou nirai mie mais vous i porrois bien aler sil vous plaist por ce 15 que vous estes compains de la taule reonde. dame fait il comment uous laisseroie iou si loing de moi. vous reuenrois tost se dieu plaist fait ele. dame fait il que uous diroie iou plus. or sachiez bien puis que vous ni uoles uenir iou nirai pas sire fait ele si ferois se dieu plaist. & vous dirai por coi iou uoel que uous iaillies. or sachiez que tant que vous serrois 20 hors de chaiens iou nurai cose qui me plaise car iou ne porroie viure sans vous puis que iou sui hors de cornuaille. & toutes uois me plaist il que uous a ceste fois i aillois a kamaalot. & si uous dirai pour coi ie uoel que vous i aillois.

Jou ai tant oi de ceste court parler as uns & as autres que iou sai 25 uraiement quil ne puet estre que ceste court ne soit sans faille la plus rice & la plus haute qui onques fust ueue el roiaume de logres par nul roi crestien. bien sai que tuit li cheualier du roiaume de logres iueront quil nen demourra ia vn seul que venir i puise en nule guise. & quant il seront tuit a ceste feste & vos amis qui estes li plus preus de tous & tous 30 li mieudres cheualiers del monde ne series donc auoec eus que diroient il.

*[As the Introduction to this text presupposes the existence of an article by Dr. Sommer, "The Queste of the Holy Grail," which will appear in a forthcoming number of *Romania*, it has been deemed better to let the introduction follow, rather than precede, the text.—Eds.]

¹ Rarely written in extenso in this MS and then always "Tristran."

² ? omitted here, "&" or "si."

il vous tenroient a maluais & diroient [*col. d*] tout plainement que uous series recreus de bien faire por lamor yseut la roine de cornuaille il diroient que uous aries abaisse toute droiture & pour moi vous en series a hontes. & ie deshonoree de lautre part. il diroient tuit mal de moi & de vous honte. or gardes sil est boin que nous eschieuon cest blasme. ma dame fait tristran. gre & graces uous en rent de ce que vous me faites connoistre lounor de moi mies que iou ne le connissoie. or connois iou certainement que vous mames & baes a lounor de moi por ceste parole que uous mauues orendroit dite irai iou sans faille a la cort car bien sai se iou nestoie celui iour a la cort le roi artu quant tuit li autre i seront assamble quil diroient de moi uilounie & de uous le diroient il ausi & pour abaissier cest blasme irai iou iusques la & reuenrai tost a vous sil vous plaist & adieu ausi. iou uoeil bien que vous sachiez que puis que iou me serai partis de vous iou ne porrai bien auoir ne ioie por nule aenture del monde deuant que ie soie a uous reuenus.

Sire fait ele iou quit bien que vous poes desoremais bien mouuoir sil vous plaist. car vous saues bien quil en est tans. & il dist quil mouera uenredi ou samedi. ne mencaut mais que iou soie a kamaalot le iour de la feste. sire fait ele il mest auis que se vous tant atendes que vous ni porrois atans uenir iusques la a .iiii. boines iournees ce dient cil de cest pais. dame dist or ne uous esmaies que iou demourai iusques atant que iou vous di & si verrai mout bien atans a celui ior car iou nirai mie armes fors despee & de glaue seulement ne ne menrai nul escuier auoec moi. iou uoeil uenir entreus si soudainement quil en soient tuit merueilliet & esbahi. iou uoeil venir a cele feste com cheualiers aentureus. sire fait ele or oi iou merueilles ia saues uous certainement quil a el roiaume de logres maint cheualier qui vous sont mortel anemi que sil auenoit par aenture quil uous trouuaissent desarme il vous feroient tost anui sil pooient.

Dame fait il ce ne puet estre que iou soie de tous ames. car maint cheualier ai outre darmes puis que iou vinc el roiaume de logres qui encore me portent haine ne ne sui mie li plus boins cheualiers del monde ne li plus ames. mais bien sachiez dame que iou uoeil aler en tel guise com ie vous di & bien sachiez que ie [*fol. 143, col. a*] nen porterai nule arme fors que mespee seulement ne naies doute que de ceste uoie ne me puet uenir se bien non ne li cuers nel me dit pas. sire fait ele diex le uoeille

A tant finent leur parlement. tristran demeure tant com li plot auoec sa dame. & quant il uoit quil ni puet plus demourer & que ceuau-chier lesteut hastieusement sil uieut uenir a la feste. il prent de sa dame congiet & monte & sen part de la ioieuse garde & commenche aceuau-chier tous seul sans nule compaignie. & il estoit si bien montes qua celi tans ne peust on mie trouer .i. meillour cheual en tout le monde & la ou il

ceuauchoit ensi sans compaignie li auint adonc vne auenture mout merueilleuse quil encontra en mi vne lande palamedes tout apareillie de ses armes. quant palamedes uoit tristran lomme el monde quil het plus mortement il li uait maintenant a lencontre au ferir des esperons il li est auis qua cestui point puet il tristran occirre sil le vieult faire. car 5 tristran est tous desarmes fors descu & de glaiue & despee. tant seulement. il naura ia encontre lui duree sil se vieut abandoner a lui metre a mort quant tristran uoit palamedes qui ensi li vient a lencontre si abandoneement tout maintenant li ciet au cuer que cou est palamedes sans faille & palamedes li crie auques de loing. certes tristran vous estes 10 mors quant vous de mes mains escaperes iamais ne ferrois coup de lance. or vous ai iou troue apoint

Quant tristran ot ceste nouele il sareste tout maintenant & set bien que cou est palamedes li plus fors cheualiers del monde & li plus grans anemis quil ait. diex fait il que ferai iou en contre lui que iou nai armes. 15 se iou me desfent ma desfense ne uaura riens. ce sai iou bien car trop est preus palamedes. palamedes auant quil uenist a tristran auoit abatu .i. cheualier & naure trop durement. encore gisoit illeuc li cheualiers. tristran ce dist palamedes tuies hounis tes daarrains iors est venus. palamedes ce dist tristran. bien saches que de ce nai iou nule paour. iou 20 nai garde de toi. si mait diex por ce que tu ies armes me quides tu espoenter si de legier. iou sui tristran qui hui cest iour uous honirai & plus vilainement que cheualiers ne fu onques honis. car tout soies tu armes & iou desarmes si ne porras tu durer encontre moi. iou te conquerrai a honor de moi & tu morras a honte. huimaies te gardes bien de moi que tu [*fol. 143, 25 col. b*] wideras les arcons se iou onques puis. quant il a dite ceste parole il ni fist autre demourance ains laisse courre a palamedes si tost comme il puet du cheual traire si le fiert si durement quil fait son glaiue uoler enpieches. mais de la sele nel remue mie. car de grant force estoit 30 Palamedes & trop ceuauchoit bien. il ne se remuet enuers tristran. ne ne fait onques nul samblant quil se uoeille remuer. quant tristran uoit palamedes & il uoit le samblant quil uait faisant & uoit quil ne se remue il quide quil fust tous esbahis. por ce li dist adont palamedes. comment teua ies tu mors. tes ore si faillis li cuers que uers moi ne toses desfendre. 35

Palamedes respont adont ensouriant tristran or uoi iou bien que tu afoletis tous les iours. plus ies faus que tu ne fus awan & plus le seras. palamedes ce dist tristran se iou sui fols iou puis dire de toi que tu ies plus maluais asses & plus couars & plus fols que tu ne soloies estre 40 tu ne toses de moi desfendre ce uoi iou bien apertement. tristran ce dist palamedes quides tu se diex te saut que iou te lais a asaillir pour paour que iou aie de toi bien saces tu deuoir que non fais. bien ses tu de quel renomee iou ai este iusques chi & de ceus qui me counoissent ai iou renon

& se iou por poi de cose perdoie ce que iou ai conquete maluaisement feroie adonc le mien afaire. or me di se diex te saut verite de ce que ie te demanderai. volentiers certes ce dist tristran. se ce est chose que iou doie dire. se tu ce dist palamedes fuisses armes ausi com iou sui & tu
 5 trouaisses .i. tien anemi desarme & desgarni se diex te doinst boine aenture lasaudroies tu ou tu len lairoies aler. or me di que tu endeuerioies faire si tu baoies a honor.

Palamedes ce dist tristran or uoi iou bien a coi tu bees & quant tu me demandes que iou feroie en tel aenture dun mien anemi iou le te
 10 dirai maintenant. saches tu que iou len lairoie aler que ia autre fait nen feroie. car iou verroie bien apertement que iou ne porroie plus grant couardise faire ne plus grant maluaistie que dassaillir men anemi mortel a i cel point que iou fuisse armes & il desarmes & sil tasaloit fait palamedes quen feroies tu. ie men partiroie de lui fait tristran se iou pooie que
 15 alui ne meteroie iou plus main se ce nestoit seulement [col. c] pour mon cors desfendre. tristran ce dist palamedes iou tai fait iugier por moi tu meesmes gardes monor tu as parle a cestui point comme loiaus cheualiers & sages & enseignies. mais ce doi iou faire de toi qui es mon anemi & saches que tout ensi le ferai iou ne autrement ne le pensoie iou afaire.
 20 tout leusses tu autrement dit tristran or saces tu bien que iou ne uoeil mie perdre lonor que iou ai conquise por toi honir de ta mort ne me verroit mie si grant preu¹ quil peust abatre la honte que iou conquesteroie a cestui point. & por ce di iou que iou men uoeil a tant souffrir de uengier moi de la haine que iou ai a toi. vue autre fois par aenture te trouuerai
 25 en meilleur point. que cesti nest. se ta as ta lance brisie sour moi iou men soufferrai a ceste fois. car iou uengierai bien cesti courous. or ten pues aler quiteement mais se aenture taporte vne autre fois entre mes mains & tu soies armes saches a donc seroit cou fait que moi ou toi morions

Quant tristran entent la frankise que palamedes li fait il le tient a trop
 30 grant merueille. il ne peust mie deuant croire quil le feist ensi. car ce sauoit il bien por uoir que palamedes le haoit morteument. & quant il le trouua a cest point si durement a mesure. il le tient a trop grant merueille. tristran ce dist palamedes or saches que iou nel fais mie por toi ne por grant bien que iou te uoeille. ains le fais por monor garder que ie
 35 ne me vauroie mie honir por toi ne por autrui que iou peusse. mais or me die se diex te saut ou uas tu ore en cest point si seus sans compaignie & desarmes. certes ce dist tristran iou menuois a kamaalot. car si comme iou croi isont assanle tout li meillor cheualier del monde qui crestien sont or mi conuient estre demain pour cou que tuit li cheualier de la table
 40 reonde isont. & pour cou que iou auoie trop avenir. ne uenir ni peusse pas appoint puis que iou alaisse armes. por ce iuois iou ensi desarmes comme tu uois pour estre acele haute feste.

¹ MS "peu."

Certes ce dist palamedes chil ceuaus sour cui tu sies me samble trop
 traueillies ce mest auis. mais iou te di que tu feras. chis ceuax sour
 cui iou sui est par le mien ensiant tous li mieudres & li plus fors qui
 soit el roiaume de logres & li rois artus lauoit mout chier & lamoit sor
 tous autres cheuaus. car iou le conquis cest an [col. d] a son cors 5
 meesmes. & sachiez que iou me combati alui plus pour le couuoitise du
 cheual auoir que pour autre cose que te diroie iou tant ai cest ceual
 esprouue & counois son grant pooir que iou sai uraiement se nus te doit
 porter a kamaalot uistement cist ti portera sans doute. de che me croi por
 ce uoel iou que nous descendons andui & sil te plaist tu prendras mon 10
 ceual & iou le tien. tu feras miex del mien que del tien. quant tristran ot
 ceste parole & il uoit la cortoisie que palamedes li fait. il endeuint tous
 esbahis il regarde palamedes & son ceual & puis le sien & tant quil vise
 bien ason avis que palamedes li dist uoir. palamedes ce dist tristran tu me
 fais tout merueillier des paroles que tu me dis. il mest auis que iou ne 15
 peusse estre si courtois uers toi que tu ies uers moi. tristran ce dist pala-
 medes. se tu ne pues estre courtois damages est & hontes a toi car il nest
 nus hom el monde estrais de si haut lignage pour coi dedens soi fust
 herbergie si haute cheualerie comme il a dedens toi que toute franchise
 & toute courtoisie ne deust estre en lui & quant tu ies teus cheualiers 20
 comme iou sai & tu nies plus courtois que autres ta proueece est poure &
 nue & eslongie de tous biens ne ne porroies bien desirier. certes se toute
 courtoisie fust ore morte & perdue le deusses tu faire reuenir par la haute
 cheualerie qui est en toi. or ten va atant & te souuiegne des ore mais
 des paroles que iou tai dites. 25

Quant il sont andui descendu tristran qui tous est esbahis de cou quil
 uoit & ot que palamedes remue son harnois de sour son cheual. &
 le met sour celui de palamedes. & quant il est apareillies de monter. il dist a
 palamedes. palamedes se diex me saut or saches bien que iou te uoloie
 grant mal na pas encore granment de tans. mais tant ai ueu a cestui point 30
 de tes oeures & de ton fait que tu me fais tout le mautalent oublier que iou
 aiuoie a toi. ensi comme iou porroie mon ami merciier dune bonte te
 merchi iou. & me part a tant de toi a court uois a ceste grande feste que
 li rois artus doit tenir. tuit li cheualier du monde iueront che ma on
 conte por ce uois iou la por regarder & pour uoel les merueilles qui la 35
 seront. car iou croi bien que sans merueilles ne sera mie ceste court.
 tristran ce dist palamedes. quant nos soumes au departir itant fai por ma
 proiere quant le [fol. 144, col. a] roi artu uerras salue le trop de ma part
 & bien li di que se iou ne fusse trop a besoignies de grant affaire iou ne
 laissaisse en nule maniere que iou a ceste feste ne uenisse. mais iou sui 40
 tant en besoignies de grant affaire que iou ne puis aler iusques la. & de
 sour tous les cheualiers qui la vienent me salue mon seignourancelot
 du lac le meilleur cheualier & le plus courtois & le plus sage & le plus

debonaire & le miex parlant que iou sache orendroit en trestout le monde. & li di que palamedes est tous siens en toutes iceles manieres quil sauroit commander & mon seignor Gaberiet le neuue au roi artu & frere mon seignour Gauaines noublies mie que uous ne me salues trop. cil est
 5 si preudom comme tu ses poi en a de meillours el monde. onques en cheualier errant ne trouuai meillour compaignon. que iou ai troue ades en lui. preudom est cortois & sages destrange maniere & hardis bien le sachies & pour cou le me saluerois uous & li dirois que ou que palamedes soit il est tos siens bien le sache.

10 **Q**uant il ot ensi parle il se departent atant palamedes sen uait dautre part & tristran sen uait le grant chemin ausi con se foudres le cacist. onques celui iour ne cesse de poindre ne desperouer. que uous diroie iou tant ceuaue en tel maniere au plus hastieusement quil puet quil onques ne reposa de iour ne de nuit & ceuauche tant de iournee en
 15 iournee quil vint mout pres de la cite de kamaalot. mais atant laisse ore li contes a parler de mon signour tristran & retourne sour vne autre matiere.¹

En ceste partie dist li contes que il auint que tous li mieudres cheualiers li plus sages [*fol. 144, col. b*] & li plus courtois de tous autres
 20 cheualiers cest mesire lancelet du lac vint par auenture sour le pont de corbenic il le passa maintenant & quant il vint en la maistre rue si comenchierent li vn & li autre a crier a lancelet. sire cheualiers la chartre uous atent & il dist basset que sil entre en la chartre ce nest mie la premiere fois. lors ceuauche toutesuois tant quil est uenus a la maistre tour
 25 si la prise mont lancelet. car cest la plus bieie de son grant quil onques mais ueist. & il escoute & ot crier vne damoisele asses pres de lui il point cele part & uoit que cest la damoisele que me sire Gauaine uait ieter hors de la cuue. mais il ne pot. & cele damoisele commencha a crier. ha⁷ diex qui me getera de chi. quant ele uoit lancelet. si li dist ha⁷ sire
 30 cheualiers ietes moi de ceste cuue ou il a euwe qui toute mart. & lancelet uint a la cuue & prent la damoisele par les mains & len trait fors. quant ele se vit deliure si li chiet as pies & li baise le iambe & li dist. sire beneoite soit leure que uous fustes nes vous maues ietee de la plus grant dolour. ou nule feme fust onques mais.

35 **T**out maintenant commencha la sale a enplir de dames & de cheualiers. si sasamblent tout cil du castiel pour ueoir la merueille. il uestent la damoisele & le metent en vne cambre & puis le mainent en vne capiele pour rendre graces a nostre seignour ihesu crist. puis mainent lancelet en vu chimentiere qui deiouste la capiele estoit & li moustrent vne tombe
 40 mont bieie & mout rice & auoit sus lettres esrites qui disoient. ia ceste tombe ne sera leuee deuant chou que li lyupars dont li grans lyons isust i metra la main. mais chil la leuera legierement & sera engenrres li

¹ Miniature no. 13. "Ensi comme lancelet trait vne damoisele hors dune cuue."

grans lions en la biele fille au roi de la terre foraine. quant lancelet a les lettres leues il nentent mie bien que eles voelent dire & cil qui entour lui sont li dient bien. sire nous quidons bien que che soies uous dont ces lettres parolent *car nous sauons bien par la damoisele que uous aues de- liuree que uous estes li mieudres cheualier del monde & seignor fait* 5 *lancelot que uoles uous que iou face iou sui tous pres que iou face uos uolentes. nous uolons font il que uous leues ceste tombe & uses quil (y a dessoubs) & il met la main al plus gros chief & la lieue mout legiere- ment*

Lors vit laiens le plus hideus serpent & le plus felon le plus cruel 10 *dont il eust onques oi*¹ [col. c] parler. & quant il uoit lancelet. il li iete fu & flambe si ardent quil li brulle tout son haubersch & ses armes si se lance hors de la fosse & commence a ieter fu & flambe parmi le chimentiere si durement que li arbrissiel qui el chimentiere estoient com- mencièrent a ardoir pour lardour del fu. & chil qui laiens estoient 15 monterent as fenestres de la tor pour ueoir comment il en sera. lors ietent a lancelet son escu & son glaue & il le prent & lors met son escu deuant son uis. & se met maintenant deuant le serpent comme cil qui ne doute auenture qui li puist auenir.

Li serpens li commence aieter fu enuenime qui li art son escu par 20 defors. & lancelet le fiert si de son glaue parmi le cors quil li enbat parmi le cors & fier & fust & cil commence abatre la terre de ses eles comme chil qui naures estoit amort. & lancelet met main a lespee & li done itel coup que il en fait la teste uoler. lors virrent chil auant qui ia estoient arme pour lui aidier. & quant il uoient quil est ochis cascuns 25 encommenche affaire mout grant ioie & en commencent tout maintenant les clokes a sonner. lors commencent auenir cheualier & dames & damoi- seles tant que cou nest se merueille non. il li dient tout maintenant que bien soit il uenus si len mainent el maistre palais si le desarment. atant uirrent issir dune chambre .i. cheualier & od lui grant compaignie de 30 cheualiers & cestoit .i. des plus loiaus homes que lancelet eust mais ueu puis que il parti de camaalot & moult bien sambloit gentiex hom. & quant cil qui laiens estoient le uoient si se drecent encontre lui. & dient ueeschi le roi. lors se dreca lancelet encontre lui si li dist tout maintenant que bien soit il uenus. & cil li rent son salu & li iete les bras au col si li 35 dist sire mout uous desirroie auoir. or vous auons tant desire dieu merchi que nous vous auons. & nous en auons moult grant mestier. car longement a este nostre pais gastes & desiers & ont li preudome perdus lor gaignages si iert bien drois des ore mais que lor pertes lor soient restorees & lor bien dont il ont este grant pieche² soufraiteus 40

¹ The bottom of fol. 144 recto, col. b, being almost effaced by time and wear, the portion set in italics is mostly guesswork.

² MS "piecha."

Lors sasient li .i. de les lautre & demanda li uns a lautre de son estre
 & tant que li rois li demanda comment il auoit non. & il dist lance-
 lot du lac. or me dites fait il. li preudom qui mourut de doeul que on
 apiela le roi ban ne fu il vostre peres. oil faitancelot. dont sui iou tous
 5 seurs fait li preudom que [col. d] par vous ou par ce que de uous istera
 sera cis pais deliures des auentures qui iauient iour & nuit.

Lors vint auant vne dame de moult grant eage si apiela le roi si li dist
 maintenant. sire iou uoeil parler a uous. li rois se part tout main-
 tenant deancelot & commanda a ses cheualiers quil li fachment com-
 10 paignie. & il dient que si feront il mout uolentiers. lors sen uait li rois en
 vne chambre auoec la dame. & quant il fu assis si li dist la uielle. sire que
 porrons nous faire de cest cheualier que diex nous a chi amene. iou ne
 sai fait li rois que ien doie faire fors quil auera ma fille afaire sa vo-
 lente. enondieu fait la vielle iou sai bien quil ne la prendra mie quant on
 15 li offerra. car il aime tant la roine genieure que il ne uauoit en nule
 maniere autre auoir. & pour cou couuient il que iou le face si sagement
 que il ne sen apercoie. ore en exploities fait li rois con vous uolres. mais
 il couuient que ce soit tost or ne vous en entremetes onques fait la roine
 car ie enuerrai mout bien achief. lors entra li rois maintenant el palais si
 20 sen vint seoir iousteancelot por lui faire compaignie si parolent li vns
 al autre & sentracointent au plus bielement que il porent.

Lors demandeancelot au roi comment il auoit non. & il dist quil auoit
 non pelles de la tere foraine si com il parloient ensi si se regarde
 ancelot. & vit laiens entrer parmi vne fenestre le couloun que me sire
 25 Gauaine auoit ueu autre fois si portoient en son bec .i. encensier dor mont
 riche. & si tost comme il fu laiens entres si fu tous li palais raemplis de
 toutes boines odours du monde. lors se taisent par laiens quil ni ot celui
 qui desist mot ains se ienoillent quant il uoient le couloun uenir. lors
 entra en vne cambre. & maintenant saillent .ii. seriant¹ qui metent les
 30 tables par les dois si sasieent li un & li autre sauf cheque nus ne deist
 mot ne nus ni parloit de cesti cose si sen esmerueille montancelot. si
 fait autel comme li autre & sasiet deuant le roi & uoit quil sont tout
 en proieres & en orisons.

Après che ne demora gaires quil virrent dune cambre issir la damoisele
 35 qui me sire Gauaine auoit tant esgardee. si fu si biele & si auenant
 queancelot dist quil onques mais si biele ne uit se che ne fu la roine
 genieure. & dist que uoirement li disoit uoir cele qui laiens lauait amene.
 il regarda .i. uaisiel que la damoisele tenoit entre ses mains qui estoit li
 plus rices qui onques mais fust ueus par home mortel a son ensient. &
 40 fais estoit en samblance de [fol. 145, col. a] galice. & si li est auis que
 che soit sainte cose & digne. lors commença les mains atendre contre lui
 & aplourer piteusement. si com la damoisele passoit parmi les dois cas-
 cuns saienille deuant le saint uaisiel. & maintenant furent les tables

¹ MS "serant."

raemplies de tous les biaux mangiers que on peust deuiser & li palais enpli maintenant de si boines odours que il sambloit que toutes les espesses du monde ifuiissent espandues.

Quant la damoisele fu alee par les dois si sen torne tout maintenant en la chambre dont ele estoit issue. & quant ele sen fu alee li rois pelles dist a lancelot. si mait diex iou auoie moult grant paor que la grace de dieu ne fausist endroit uous si comme ele fist auant ier a mon seigneur Gauain quant il fu chaiens. biaux sire fait lancelot. il nest mie mestiers que nostre sire soit tous iors courechies a ses pecheors. quant il orent mangiet tout par loisir il osterent les napes. & li rois demand a lancelot quil li sambloit du rice uaisiel que la damoisele aporta & de la damoisele. il me semble que si bele damoisele ne ui iou onques mais. mais de dame ne di ie mie.

Quant li rois oi ceste parole il dist maintenant a soi meesme que cestoit uoirs que ou li auoit dit. lors uint a brisane le maistresse sa fille celui qui deuant lot aparle de lancelot. si li dist ce que lancelot li ot dit² de sa fille. sire fait ele ie le disoie bien. ore arestes chi vn poi & iou irai a lui parler. & cele vint a lancelot. & li commence maintenant a demander nouuies du roi & il dist tout maintenant quil nen set nules & ele dist que du roi ne sauoit ele nules noueles. de la roine fait ele ne di iou mie. car il na gaires que iou la vi moult lie & moultoieuse & il tresaut tout maintenant & li demande ou ele la vit. sire fait ele chi pres a .ii. lieues ou ele girra anuit. dame fait il vous me gabes. simait diex fait ele que non fai. & pur cou uous mencrees miex uenes auoec moi ie le uous mousterrai. certes dame fait il uolentiers.

Lors enuoia querre ses armes & cele uint entrementes au roi qui latendoit en sa chambre & li demanda comment il auoit exploitié. faites tost fait ele uo fille monter & lenuoies au plus procain castiel que vous aues de chi. puis le faites couchier el plus rice lit que on li porroit faire. & ie li ferai entendant que chou est la roine genieure. & ie li donrai encore .i. itel boire que iou ne dout mieque il ne face ma uolente puis que il li sera montes el ceruel ensi poera auenir che que nous uolons. li rois la fist monter puis li bailla .xv. cheualiers qui li feront com[*col. b*]paignie iusquel castiel de la quasse. & quant il i virrent si estoit ia la nuit obscure. cil qui la damoisele auoient amenee fisent faire .i. lit. & la fisent couchier au plus richement quil porent. & lancelot a prises ses armes & monta sour son cheual & se part de corbenic & ilaissa celi qui li auoit amene si cheuaucent tant entre lui & brisane quil virrent au castel de la quasse. quant il i furent uenu il estoit mout tart ne la lune nestoit mie encore leuee. & brisane len maine en .i. castiel qui estoit mout biaux. quant il fu descendus il entra en vne chambre ou li cheualier estoient. & quant il le uoient uenir il se lieuent encontre lui & li dient que bien soit il uenus si

¹ MS "deman a."² MS "dist."

le desarment laiens amout grant ioie & a mout grant clarte. car bien iauoit iusca .xx. chiergres alumes. & brisane si a avne pucele dit ce que ele uoloit faire & li ot baillie les puisons & li dist. quant tu orras que iou demanderai aboiure si en aporte a lancelet plaine demie coupe ne nule
 5 autre ne li doine tant comme il en voille boiure & ele dist que si fera ele mout uolentiers.

Quant lancelet fu desarmes il ot talent de boiure a che quil ot eu chaut au uenir si demanda maintenant ou estoit sa dame la roine. sire en cele chambre ou ele est ia endormie au mien ensiant. & il demande le vin & le damoisele a qui on le commanda li aporte le boire tel
 10 que nus ne uit meillour & auoit coulour de vin. la coupe estoit bien grande si fu ele pres que plaine. il auoit grant talent de boiure & la damoisele li dist beues car ia ne vous fera se bien non. & si quit que onques mais itel ne beustes. il la boit maintenant tout 'hors & troeue la poison douce &
 15 amoureuse si en demande encore autant & cele len aporta & il la boit toute. lors est plus enuoisies que deuant si demande nouuieles de sa dame la roine. & cele lesgarde & uoit quil est ia tous mues. car il ne set mie comment il li est ne comment il vint en la maison ains quide que il soit en la cite de camaaloth si li est auis uraiement quil parauta sa dame
 20 la roine qui toudis estoit auoc lui puis que la dame de maloant fu morte. & quant ele le uoit si asote que il porra legierement estre deceus si li dist. sire ma dame la roine puet ia estre endormie que demores uous tant que vous nales parler alui.

Dame fait il pour chou quele ne me mande mie ni uoel iou mie aler
 25 mais se ele me [col. c] mandoit iou iroie a lui. enon dieu fait ele uous en ires alui sil uous plaist car uous en orres par tans nouuieles. lors entra en la chambre & fait samblant quele aut parler a la roine. puis vint a lancelet & li dist. sire ma dame vous atent & uous mande que uous viegnies parler a li. & il se fait maintenant descauchier puis entra
 30 en la chambre en chemise & en braies si uint au lit & se coucha auoc la damoisele. & cele qui ne desiroit autant rien comme lui a auoir de cui terriene cheualerie est enluminee le recoit lie & ioieuse & li fist autel feste con la roine li faisoit.

Ensi sont mis ensamble li mieudres cheualiers & li plus biaux qui
 35 adont fust auoc la plus bieles damoisele qui adont fust si se desirent par diuerses extensions. ele ne le fait mie tant seulement pour la biaute de lui ne pour luxure ains le fait ele & si ami pour le fruit recheuoit dont tous li biens deuoit uenir el pais que par le coup de lespee as estranges renges auoit este ferus si en auoit este gastes. & essillies. si con
 40 li contes du saint graal deuise. & cil la desiroit en autre maniere pour sa biaute nel couuoitoit il mie. mais il quidoit que che fust sa dame la roine. & par che fu il si escaufes quil la counut ausi con adans nos premiers peres fist euain sa moillier mais ne mie en tel maniere. car adans connut

sa feme loiaument & par le commandement de nostre seignour. & cist
 counut ceste en peciet & en adultere contre sainte eglise & ne pourquant
 chil en qui toute bontes & toute pities habite & qui ne iuge mie son droit
 selonc les mesfais as peceours ne selonc les mesfais & le peril aceuls du
 pais comme cil qui ne uoloit mie quil finissent tous iours en peril ne en
 escil. si lor dona tel fruit a engenrer & a concevoir par le flour de uirgi-
 nite qui illeuc fu corumpue & uiolee fu illeuc conceue vne autre fleurs
 de qui bien & de qui doucour maintes teres furent peries & rasasiies. car
 si com lestoire del saint graal uous raconte de ceste flor perdue fu restores
 Galaad li uirgenes cil qui les auentures du saint graal mist afin & sasist
 el siege perilleus de la table reonde v onques cheualiers ne sasist qui ne
 mourust & tout ausi comme li nons de galaad deuoit estre perdus en
 lancelet. par escaufement de luxure tout ensi fu recouures en cestui par
 abstinence de char car il fu uirgenes en volente & en oeures iusca [col. d]
 la mort si con li estoires le deuise.

Ensi fu recouree fleur par fleur. car en sa naisance fu flors de pucelage
 estrainte & mal mise il fu flours de cheualerie & de perte restoree
 par le communal assentement & se uirginite en fu empirie bien en fu li
 mesfais amendes en sa vie por sa virginite que il rendi sa vie & entiere a
 son sauueour quanti l trespasa de cest sieucle. & por les biens que il fist
 en sa vie fu li pechiez & li conceuemens estains. si se taist ore li contes
 de lui. & retourne a parler de lancelet qui se iut od la damoisele toute
 nuit. si li toli le non a coi ele ne pot onques puis recourer. car son lapi-
 loit au soir pucele a lendemain lapiela on damoisele.

Or dist li contes que quant lancelet uit que li iours aparut il
 sesueilla mais point ne uit entour lui de clarte car toutes les
 fenestres de laiens estoient estoupees si que solaus ni pot
 entrer ne poi ne grant. lors sesmerueilla mout durement ou
 il estoit. il tasta entor lui & tasta la damoisele & li demande dont ele
 estoit & il estoit ia remis en son memoire la forche des puisons iert ia
 faillie des icele heure quil ot coneue la damoisele carneument. & ele li dist
 tout maintenant. sire iou sui une damoisele qui sui fille au roi de la terre
 foraine. quant il entent ceste parole il se pourpense comment il auoit
 este deceus si en est tant dolant que il quide bien issir du sens. lors saut
 du lit tant courechies que nus plus. si viest sa chemise & ses braies
 puis se cauche. & quant il fu tous apareillies & armes il vint en la
 chambre ou il auoit ieu & ceure les fenestres. & quant il uoit cheli par¹
 qui il auoit este deceus il en est tans courechies que il quide bien
 mourir sans confession. lors pense quil sen vengera sans plus attendre. il
 trait maintenant lespee du fuerre & vint uers la damoisele mout iries &
 li dist. damoisele uous maues mort si conuient que uous moures autresi.
 car iou ne uoel que vous iamaiz deceues home si com vous maues deceu.

¹ MS "pour."

Lors drecheancelot lespee contremont & ele qui grant paour ot de mourir li commence a crier merci a jointes mains. & dist ha frans cheualiers pour dieu ne mochie mie pour icelle pitie que diex ot de la uirgene marie & lors saresta maintenant tous trespenses si la uit la plus bieles quil eust onques mais ueue. lors se pense sil locirra ou sil le laira viure & cele li crie toutesuois merchi & sestoit mise toute nue deuant lui a ienous & il esgarde sa [fol. 146, col. a] biaute & son uis si la uit tant bieles quil en fu tous esbahis. lors met sespee el fuerre & li dist tout maintenant. damoisele iou men irai si uencus & si recreans comme chil qui ne sose de uous uengier car iou seroie trop desloiaus se iou si grant biaute destruisoie comme il a en vous. si uous pri que vous me pardones chou que iou ai traite mespee sour uous. car ire & mautalens le me fist faire. sire fait ele uolentiers par si que vous me pardounes uo mautalent & il li otroie tout maintenant puis que a faire li conuient ensi pardoune li uns alautre son mautalent & sentrebaisent puis se commandent a dieu.

Quant il vint aual il trocua son cheual tout ensele si lauot fait brisane apareillier pour ce que il le trouast tout prest quant il reuenroit aual. car ele sauoit bien quil ne remanroit mie laiens. ains senpartiroit si tost comme il saperceuroit de la deceuanche. quant il fu montes il prent son escu & son glaue quil trouua a vn arbre apoiet si senua dolans & courechies. il entra en son chemin mout pensis. & li rois pelles se fu matin leues & fu uenus au castiel de la quasse pour ueoir sa fille. car ou li auoit bien dit commentancelot sen estoit ales. quant il uint la il la trouua moult durement malade pour la paour queancelot li auoit faite si conta a son pere comment il li estoit auenu quant li rois sot lestre de lui & deancelot il le fist garder moult soigneusement & plus la fist honorer que deuant. si ne demora mie grantment que il sot bien que ele estoit enchainte par uisitiens² qui li disent & par la pucele meesme qui li dist que cou estoit uoirs si enfurent si liet que nus plus & chil du pais en fisent trop grant ioie. mais atant laist ore li contes a parler du roi pelles & de sa fille & deancelot. & retourne a parler de boort de gaunes & de Galaad.

Or dist li contes que quant che auint que Galaad ot pres dun an si auint que mesire bohors de Gaunes vint .i. mardi au soir al castiel de corbenic & quant il vint alentree du pont si trouua desous .i. arbre .i. cheualier arme de toutes armes qui li dist de si loing comme il le peut oir. sire cheualiers se uous estes de la maison le roi artu si retournes car parchi ne passeres vous mie. por coi ni passeroie iou fait cil bohors. pour che fait il que iou le uous desfent. & nus qui de lostel [col. b] le roi artu soit ni passera tant com iou i soie neni passa plus a de demi an. & pour coi fait bohors ne uoles uous que nus qui soit de cel ostel i past. pour chou fait il que iou les he tous pour .i. cheualier

¹ "quil" is repeated.

² MS "uisitiens."

qui irepaire & a non lancelet du lac. comment fait boors haes uous donc lancelet du lac. oil fait il plus que nul home del monde. dont ne porries uous estre acordes a moi fait bohors. car celui que uous haes tant aim iou plus que nul home del monde car il est me sires & mes cousins germains. or uous gardes dont de moi fait chil iou uous desfi & uous assure 5 que pour lamour de lui mourres ains que uous mescapees.

Lors laissent courre li uns alautre & sentrefierent grans cous es aleures des cheuaus si durement que il font les glaiues uoler en pieces & sentrehurtent descors & des escus si durement quil ni a celui qui ne soit estroues & il sont ambedoi mout estoune. li cheualiers uole a terre par 10 desus la crupe du cheual tous debrisiés & bors hen passe outre tout a cheual si esbahis quil ne set que faire. mais il reuint tost en sa forche & en son pooir & prise moult le cheualier a qui il auoit iouste car mout est de grant force. li cheuliers fu releues moult honteus de cou quil ot ensi este abatuss it raist lespee & dist a boort qui encore estoit a ceual que est 15 che cheualiers ies tu dont si couars que tu noses descendre ains masauras a cheual & iou sui a pie. certes se tu mochioies en tel maniere li cheuaus en aroit le pris ne mie tu. dans cheualiers fait boors naies paour de chou si mait diex iou ne vous asaurai mie a cheual tant com vous soies a pie. car iou iarioie plus honte que honor. il descent erranment de son cheual & 20 la tache a vn arbre qui estoit au chief dun pont puis trait lespee & en brace lescu & sen irait uers celui qui point ne laime.

Lors commencent a issir hors du chastiel cheualier & dames & damoiseles pour ueoir la bataille & cil orent les espees traites si sentredourent grans cols la ou il sentrepeuent ataindre si depechent les 25 escus & les hiaumes & desmaillent les haubers sor les bras & sour les espaulles. mais boors gete vns cols si pesans que chil na armes qui toutes ne depechent deuant lespee & tant a boors mene le cheualier quil ne le puet mais souffrir en nule maniere car trop a perdu du sanc. & si se desfent il de tout son pooir car bien quide mourir sans merchi auoir. 30 [col. c] mais tant sest combatus que plus ne se puet desfendre si le maine boors si comme il vient vne heure auant & autre arriere & chil guenchist quan quil puet qui moult doute lespee. car en plus de .x. lieus la sentue iuscal sanc. mais toutesuois boors le coite durement car il ne le uaura mie laisser atant & cil recule iuscal pont. car il a tant perdu du 35 sanc quil a grant paour de mourir & pert le sens & le memore & la force & a tant recule que apoi quil nest cheus en liaue.

Quant boors qui moult lauait trouue preu & hardi uoit quil est en peril de mort si en a moult grant pitie & pense que si preudom 40 comme il est ne mourra ia de ses mains se dieu plaist. car trop seroit grans damages & il estoit sour le bort du pont & pres de cheoir en liauwe quant boors le uoit il li escrie maintenant retourne cheualiers ou tu cherras en liaue. & chil regarde & uoit que cest grant merueille que il ne

est piecha cheus. lors connoist la deboinairete & la frankise de boort & set quil nen eust mie tant fait sil¹ fust en sen point. il dist tout maintenant a boort ha² frans cheualiers ne mochies mie mais laissies me viure par si que iou me mete del tout en uostre merchi a faire quanque
 5 vous uolres & uees chi mespee que iou uous rent. & bors la prent tout maintenant. & quant chil du castiel uoient que la bataille est finée il sen uont el castiel & maintenant ua bohors uers le cheualier & li demande comment il a a non. sire fait il on mapiele brunor du plaissie. or me dites biau sire por coi haes uous lancelot du lac. en non dieu fait il ce uous
 10 dirai iou uolentiers.

Il est uoirs que chaiens a la plus biele damoisele² du monde que iam & ai amee pour sa biaute si auint que iou li dis³ plus a de demi an que iou lamoie & li proiai que ele me dounast samor & ele me dist tout maintenant que non feroit. car ele amoit si comme ele me dist i.
 15 cheualier qui asses mieudres cheualiers estoit de moi & plus uaillans. & me dist que cou estoit me sire lancelot du lac & ie li dis tout maintenant que lancelot nauoit onques este mieudres cheualiers de moi & bien li mousterroie. car iamais ne fineroie deuant chou que iou auroie trouue lancelot. & quant trouue lauroie. iou me combatroie a lui & sil me conqueroit par armes iamais ne requerroie samour. & se iou le conqueroie iou
 20 uaueroie samour auoir & ele me dist que si aueroie ie

Quant ele mot fait tel promesse iou me parti du castiel moult lies si men aloie a la court le [col. d] roi artu ou ie quidoie trouer lancelot. & se iou leusse troue la me fuisse ie combatus a lui. mais chil de laiens
 25 me disent quil ne lauoient ueu plus a de demi an. & quant iou oi che iou men ving cha & enpris a garder cest pont en tel maniere que pour cou que iou ne lauoie trouue dis iou que iou me combatroie tous iours mais a tous chiaus de la maison le roi artu & por lui haoie iou tous les autres si uous est ore si avenu que diex vous a done pooir sor moi de moi conquerre. ia soit ce que onques mais ne trouuai home qui me menast a
 30 outranche. or vous ai iou conte pour coi ie haoie lancelot. si est en vous del parfiner ou del ochirre. mais pour ce que ie me tieng pour outre & que en ma mort ne porries rien gaignier voeil iou que vous me pardones le mesfait de ce que iou me sui a vous combatus. volentiers fait boors
 35 mais il conuient que vous soies au ior de pentecouste a la court le roi artu si uous rendes a lancelot du lac de par boort de Gaunes son cousin & vous metes en sa merci a faire son commandement. & li li fianche ausi a faire si remonta boors sour son cheual & a ceulli sa voie parmi le pont & parmi la maistre rue de corbenic.

Quant il vint droitement ala maistre porte si descendi tout maintenant
 40 deuant le palais qui auoit autrefois ueu. & uallet saillent maintenant qui li dient bien uiegnies & il lor rent lor⁴ salu si prent li vns son escu &

¹ MS "dl."² MS "damoise."³ MS has "dist."⁴ MS "son."

li autre le mainent el palais lors li vienent alencontre cheualier dames & damoiseles. qui li demandent qui il est & il dist quil est¹ de la maison le roi artu. & a anon boors de gaunes. & quant chil de laiens loent il dient que bien soit il uenus si li font mout grant ioie & portent par laiens nouieles de lui & dist li uns alautre ueeschi le cousin de mon seignor 5
lancelot qui chaiens est uenus. apres che ne demoura gaires que li rois pelles issi dune chambre & fu mout ricement uestus de cote & de mantel de samit. si amena od lui mout grant compaignie de cheualiers & boors le connut tantost comme il le uit car autre fois lauoit ueu si li vint a lencontre si li dist. sire bien viegnies. biaux sire fait li rois diex vous doinst 10
boine aventure lors sasieent andoi sour vne kieute pointe de cendal. si commença li vns a parler a lautre. tant que li rois li demanda comment il lauoit fait puis. & il dist bien dieu merchi. car iou sui tous sains & tous haities graces dieu. & li rois li demande par amors or me dites & que fait lancelet. il a mout lonc tans que iou ne la vi & par lamor de lui 15
ai iou enuoiet a court. certes sire fait boors. lancelet est tous sains & tous haities. [*fol. 147, col. a*] dieu merchi. si na mie encore. viii. iours que iou le ui a .i. tournoiement quil uenqui deuant le castiel del pingue v il ot des meillours cheualiers del monde & tant ia demoure quil ne uint a court ne ne nous vint veoir plus a de demi an & a este en la prison morgain la fee 20
lonc tans si comme il me dist. si se departi auant ier de moi mais il sera le iour de pentecouste a court se diex li done vie.

Puis quil est sains & haities fait li rois moi nencaut de sa demouree. mais diex ensoit adures quil est hors de prison. si mait diex fait li rois toute rien en doit auoir ioie. car au mien ensiant cest li mieudres 25
cheualiers du monde. pleust adieu quil fust ore chi & fust ausi sains & ausi haities comme uous estes. si mait diex iou en seroie plus lies que qui me donroit .cent. mars dor. si comme il parloient issi² dune chambre la fille au roi pelles si ricement atournee que che fu merueille de sa vesteure. & ele estoit mout bele damoisele si quil nauoit plus bieles el monde. 30
si auint tantost con chil de laiens la virrent uenir il se lieuent contre lui. & ele ne fu mie esbahie ains sala tantost seoir de les bohort & li dist que bien fust il uenus & il li rent son salu au plus biel quil puet. & ele sasiet les lui comme cele qui mout le desiroit auoir. si parlerent moult entraus .ii. dunes choses & dautres. si comme il parloient ensi il virrent venir vn 35
cheualier mout viel qui portoit vn petit enfant en son geron qui estoit de mout petit eage & nauoit mie encore .i. an ains sen failli .ii. mois & li enfes estoit tant biaux durement que estoit merueille & estoit enuolepes de dras de soie. si le moustra li cheualiers a boort. & li dist. sire cest uotre petit parent nel ueistes uous onques mais. sachiez quil est estrais 40
del plus haut lignage qui soit en crestiente & est uos cousins de che soies tous chertains.

¹ Not in MS.² MS "issi ischi dune."

Quant boors uoit lenfant il li est auis que il uoie lancelet & sans faille il le resambloit si bien comme figure dome pooit resambler autre. si demanda boors tout maintenant qui il estoit. or me dites fait li cheualiers counissies uous nule ame en uostre lignage qui il resamble. or lauses
 5 bien & iou mesmerueillerai moult se vous ne le reconussies tantost. & boors le regarde si nen ose mie dire son penser. car bien li est auis quil resambloie lancelet mais pour che que [col. b] il set la uerite de lui & de la roine nen ose il mie dire son pense. ne pour chou pour che que il li couuient respondre a chou que li cheualiers demande dist. si mait diex
 10 fait il. il me samble que il resamble miex lancelet que nul autre home. en non dieu fait li preudom il le doit bien resambler. car il issi de lui tout vraiment le scies.

Quant boors ot chou il en est moult lies. si demande tout maintenant comment il auoit non & li preudom li dist quil auoit non galaad. &
 15 quant boors loi. il en ot moult grant ioie. & maintenant le prist entre ses bras & le commenche a regarder & a baisier & a plourer de ioie & de pitie moult tenrement. si dist al enfant biaux dous sire bien soies vous uenus & buer fuissies uous nes. car vous seres encore pilers & estendars de tout nostre lignage & beneois soit diex qui chi ma amene car iou ne
 20 fuisse mie si lies se iou eusse conquis par armes le meillour cheualier du monde. entrementres quil parloient ensi entra laiens li coulons qui portoit en son bec .i. encensier dor & entra en la cambre ou il entroit acoustumeement maintenant fu li palais enplis de toutes les boines ondeurs du monde. lors misent maintenant les tables & les napes. & puis
 25 sasient au mangier sauf che que nus qui fu laiens ni fu apieles. si nauoit laiens home qui mot desist. ains estoient tout enproieres & en orisons aussi bien li viel comme li iouene.

Apres che ne demoura gaires que de la chambre issi la damoisele qui entre ses mains portoit le saint graal. & si tost comme ele entra en
 30 la sale si sagenoillent en contre lui tout chil de laiens & disoient tuit basset beneois soit diex qui de sa grase nous raenplis. ensi comme la damoisele passoit parmi les dois si sen reentra maintenant en la chambre dont ele estoit issue. maintenant commenchierent a parler parmi le palais des auentures del saint graal. & quant il orent mangie si furent
 35 maintenant les napes ostees. si sala li rois pelles apoier a vne fenestre iouste boort si commenchierent entrex a parler dunes coses & dautres tant que boors demanda au roi la uerite de lenfant. si li conta li rois comment il estoit auenu & comment lancelet fu deceus par coi il connut la damoisele si com hom doit connoistre sa feme. car onques mais
 40 de nul engien [col. c] nauint ausi bien comme il auint de cestui. car sans faille de nostre lignage & du uostre doit issir li urais cheualiers par qui les auentures du saint graal seront menees a fin. & uous di uraiement quil serra ou siege pereilleus de la table reonde & iou uous di uraiement

se chou nest chil enfes iou ne sai qui che sera. car de tous les cheualiers du monde est ses peres li mieudres cheualiers. certes boort fait li rois iou sai bien que che sera chis enfes car li prophete & li hermite de cest pais lont afferme par verite.

Sire fait boors cis palais ou nous somes a non li palais auentureus. 5
 enondieu fait li rois uous dites uoir. car vous iaves ia ueues bieles auentures puis que vous iuenistes nest che mie merueilleuse aventure quant li sains graaus uous raemplist de viandes. certes fait boors uoirement est chou mout biele aventure. si mait diex puis que iou i sui uenus iou ne men partirai deuant chou que iouiau rai geu une nuit. si verrai les 10
 merueilleuses auentures que me sire Gauaine uit quant il i iut. ha sire pour dieu fait li rois nel dites iamais. car par la foi que iou doi dieu uous ni girres mie a nuit. car iou quit bien que vous nen escaperies ia sans honte ou sans damage. & iou ne vauoie pour la moitie de ma tere que maus vous auenist dont iou vous peusse garder car iou enseroie 15
 blasmes de maintes gens. sire fait boors quant iou ving primes iou nen appris rien si que puis enfui blasmes de maintes gens en tel lieu ving iou puis. pour che vous di iou que iamais a nul iour de ma vie de cest ostel ne partirai deuant che que iou ensarai plus que iou nen sai ore endroit. me dites vous uoir fait li rois. oil uoir fait il. enondieu fait li rois de cest 20
 serrement uous destournerai iou au mains anuit. mais demain enfaites quanquil vous plaira puis quensi le uoles faire. & demain souferrai iou bien que vous iremaignies atele heure que diex vous enlaist partir sans honte. & pour coi fait boors ne soufres uous mie que iou i remaingne huimais. soufres vous fait li rois iou le vous dirai ains que vous partes 25
 de chaiens. la nuit iut boors en vne chambre qui estoit desous la tour si li fist li rois tant donor comme il pot faire

Au matin vint li rois a boort si li dist. biaux amis il est ensi que uos 30
 deues anuit gesir el palais auentureus. sire fait il vous dites voir [col. d] or vous pri iou fait li rois que vous ales parler a .i. de nos capelains si vous feres confes auant que vous aillies deuant le saint graal. car puis que vous seres nes & espurgies de tous visces iou ne quit mie que il vous meschie tant que se vous venies deuant lui vies & ort. quant boors oi che si cret maintenant chel conseil & le tint aboin & a loial. si tost comme il 35
 ot oie messe issi hors du moustier & apiela .i. des capelains de laiens si se fist confes de tous ses pechies dont il se sentoit coupables uers dieu si li conta tout maintenant son estre conques .i. seul mot ne len cela. si la trouua chil de si boine vie que il sen esmerueilla. & bien uit quil nauoit onques pechie fors en vne seule feme che fu la fille au roi brangoire de cele auoit il eu alain le blanc. 40

Quant boors fu confessez de cuer & de bouche. il rechut maintenant corpus domini car il nestoit mie bien asseur pour les auentures qui auienent el palais quant il ot che fait il issi hors du moustier ioians &

lies ne onques ne uaut mangier dautre viande que la sainte ouulee quil auoit vsee. au soir remest el palais tous seus & li autre sen departirent tuit. si le laisserent illeuc. au soir quant il fu anuitiet que li iours fu oscurchis pour la uenue de la nuit sala seoir el lit qui estoit el chief del
 5 palais. & si tost comme il fu asis commença laiens la plus grant noise del monde. car .i. uens i leua si grans que cou estoit une merueille car tout maintenant. commenchièrent les fenestres de laiens a flatir les vnes encontre les autres. si estoit uraiement auis a celui qui les oït que li palais doïue fondre del dehoisement que les fenestres faisoient. & quant
 10 tout che fu remes si issi de la chambre vne lanche qui estoit grande & longhe dont li fers flamboïoit comme vns chierges enbrases si senvint vers boort ausi comme vns effoudres si li feri si durement que parmi lespaule senestre li enbati bien plaine paume enparfont. et quant il se sent ensi naure il en est tous esbahis car il ne uoit mie celui qui la
 15 lanche tenoit dont il auoit este ferus. & nepourquant il sent que on li oste mais il ne set qui. & quant il fu desferres si senrala la lance en la chambre dont ele estoit uenue. & il remaint el lit si malades comme chil qui bien quide mourir. mais il ne se remue del lit ains ibee aremanoir
 toute la nuit comme chil qui ne li caut li auiegne.

20 **L**ors ne demora gaires que il uit issir dune chambre .i. cheualier mout ricement arme de toutes armes [*fol. 148, col. a*] si fu moult grans de cors & moult furnis. & la ou il uit boort il li dist sire cheualiers leues uous de cel lit si uous ales reposer en autre lieu. car chi ne poes uous mie longement demourer. & il dist quil ne se mouueroit pour lui ne pour
 25 autre. enondieu fait li cheualiers se vous faites tant que io ume combate a uous uous ni gaaignerés nient. car auous me conuerra combatre se uous ne uous mouues. & boords ist quil ne lenchaut. enondieu dist li cheualiers or soies dont tout asseur que tant com iou puise tenir mespee uous ne seres en repos.

30 **Q**uant boors uoit quil est uenus a la mellee il se drece en estant. & nepourquant il estoit si durement naures que uns autres hom en mourust sil fust ensi naures comme il estoit. mais il estoit si preus & si hardis quil aime miex a mourir a honor que a honte uiure lors trait maintenant lespee & court sus au cheualier & li done si grant coup
 35 parmi le'hiaume & chil qui estoit de grant forche se desfent moult vigereusement. mais tout fust boors naures si estoit il fors & uistes & isniaus si le maine en tel maniere a cel premier asaut si durement que chil nel pot souffrir en nule maniere. ains uait tant guencissant comme qui tant sauoit de mal quil vint en la chambre ou li sains graaus estoit.
 40 & si tost comme il en reuint hors si fu il ausi haities comme il estoit deuant. & ot maintenant recoure forche & alaine. car sil ot este las & traueillies il est ore endroit mout haligres. si recourt sus a boort si viste-ment que boors en est tous esbahis. si dist a soi meesme iou uoi

merueilles de cest cheualier car iou disoie maintenant quil estoit uencus ne quil ne se pooit mais aidier. & puis quil entra en la chambre a si grant forche recouuree que iou quit quil nen ait mie mains quil auoit deuant au commencement de la bataille iou croi quil soit uenus de dieu ou del diable.

Ensi dist boors celeement & li cheualiers li vint lespee drechie contre-
mont si li done mout grant coup la ou il le peut ataindre. & boors
se desfent bien & biel comme chil qui ne puet mie legierement estre greues
par lesfors dun cheualier sil ne fust moult preus si fait tant par sa forche &
par sa legierete que il vint audeseure de la bataille. si vous di chertainement
que quant il dut entrer en la chambre ou li sains graals estoit que boors
li vint audeuant si li dist. sire cheualiers chaiens nenterres uous huimais.
lors lahiert au hiaume & li esrache de la teste. lors li saut sour le cors &
li abat la uentaille. si li dist quil loccirra [col. b] tout maintenant sil ne
se rent ou sil ne se tient pour outre ou sil ne li fianche a tenir prison ou
il uaura. lors hauce lespee & fait samblant quil li uoeille la teste couper.
& on ueoit laiens moult cler. car toutes les fenestres de laiens estoient
ouuertes si que la lune i luisoit & li cheualiers uoit tout maintenant
lespee si set bien quil est en peril de mort sil ne se tient pour outre. si
crie merchi acelui qui conquis lauoit. & boors li dist iou ne sai qui uous
estes car onques mais ne vous vi a mon ensiant. si couuient que vous me
fianchies com loiaus cheualiers que vous le iour de la pentecouste seres a
la court le roi artu. ou que il le tiengne. a cel iour iseront tout li preu-
dome del monde au mien ensiant. & chil li otroie maintenant. car bien
uoit que faire lesteut. iou te dirai fait boors que tu feras. tu te rendras
a lui de par boort de gaunes & chil li creante. lors prent maintenant son
escu & son glaiue & sen reuait maintenant la dont il estoit issus & boors
sen reua seoir ou lit. si comme il se fu assis lors commencha abescochier
de cascade fenestre ou saiete ou quarriaus qui commencherent a ferir
sour lui si quil sen sent feru quen son escu quen son haubersch enplus de
cent lieus dont il fu mout durement naüres & nepourquant il ne se remue
ains se tint ausi fermement & ausi seurement con sil neust nul mal si
atent en tel maniere les auentures de laiens. car il pense bien quil en
i auenra encore.

Quant li quarriel orent laissie auenir tout maintenant reclosent les
fenestres si fisent tel noise au reclorre comme se tous li pauemens
dust cheir adont rot laiens¹ mout grant clarte. quant li palais fu
racoisies si issi dune chambre de laiens vns lyons qui vint uers boort les
menus saus la geule baee. & quant boors le uoit uenir il saut sus tout
maintenant si prent son escu & le tourne deuant lui. si hauce lespee
pour lui ferir parmi la teste. & chil iete maintenant les dens & les ongles
encontre comme chil qui se uoloit desfendre si ataint lescu boors par
desous si enporta tout deuant lui ausi comme vn pan de samit. si sen-
failli mout petit quil nabati boort. mais boors se tint bien comme chil

¹ Repeated in MS.

qui asses auoit pooir & forche puis le fiert mout durement parmi les oreilles si quil li coupa tot en trauers si quil chei mors seur le pauement. puis se raset el lit si se repose apres che ne demoura [*col. c, verso*] gaires que il uit issir dune chambre qui estoit el palais le serpent que me sire
 5 Gauaine ot ueu si estoit si grans & si espeuentables que nus ne le ueist qui grant paour nen eust. car il nestoit nule si diuerse colours que on ne peust sour lui trouuer. si auoit les iex ausi rouges comme feu & ausi enbrases comme se che fuissent estoiles & quant il fu issus de la chambre el palais il commencha a aler parmi le palais le petit pas ietant feu &
 10 flambe. mais che nestoit mie granment & uous di quil saloit iuant a sa keue ausi comme uns enfes. & boors uit lettres en son front escrites au rai de la lune qui laiens entroit qui disoient que cestoit la senefianche du roi artu.

Quant li serpens fu uenus en mi le palais si vit boors uenir encontre
 15 lui. i. lupart grant & merueilleux mais il ne se puet apercevoir dont il est issus. si court tout maintenant sus au serpent qui getoit fu & flambe & font entraus .ii. si grant bataille que cest merueilles auoir. si se desfent si bien li lupars que il uait ades tere conquerant sour le serpent. boors regarde mout longement cele bataille si sesmerueilla moult
 20 durement que che pooit estre. car il uoit entraus si grant cruaute conques mais si grant cruaute ne uit entre. ii. bestes si pensa tout maintenant que chou estoit aucune senefianche. & quant la bataille a tant dure que li .i. ne li autres ne pot plus souffrir si se traist arriere li serpens & li lupars sesuanuist en tel maniere que boors ne set quil est deuenus. & si
 25 tost con li serpens uint alentree de la chambre ou li sains graaus estoit si le commencha amotrer ausi comme beste qui a angoisse de faouner quant ele est en grant destrece.

Tout ensi se demena li serpens une grant pieche & puis commencha a
 30 ieter de sa bouce serpentiaus iusqua cent. si vous di que tantost que li serpentel furent hors que il uoloient lor mere mangier. mais ele se desfendi bien. si dura tant la bataille contre aus que li serpentel furent tout ochis & li grans serpens mors. de ceste cose sesmerueilla moult boors plus que de nule rien que il ueist. car il set bien que cest aucune senefianche mais il ne puet mie sauoir bien que chest. lors uit boors issir
 35 dune cham-*[col. d]*bre un home qui estoit pales & maigres & miex sambloit mors que uis. cil auoit a son col pendu .ii. culeuures trop poignans. si disoit sire diex ou fourfis iou onques a auoir la grant dolour que iai & que iou seufre. ha~ doux diex uerra iamaiz cil qui de ceste maleurte me doit oster. ensi se dementoit chil & se clamoit caitif maleureus si portoit
 40 deuant lui vne harpe mout riche. car il iauoit tant dor & de pierres precieuses que cestoit merueilles auoir.

Quant li hom uint enmi la sale il sasist en vne chaire dor qui estoit
 en mi le palais & par ior & par nuit. il prist son peleton & com-

menche a ateniprer sa harpe au miex que il pot si commenche anoter .i. lai si notoît & plouroit mout durement. si notoît vn lai de ioseph dabari-
 macie ensi comme il vint en bertaigue quant nostre sire le fist ariuer a
 son uoloir. boors imet mout durement son auis. si entent que cest la des-
 putison dorfeu lencanteor & de ioseph dabarimachie qui fonda le castel 5
 en la mer descoche. quant il ot son lai fine il se drecha en estant. & dist
 a boort. sire cheualiers pour noient estes demoures en cest castiel & en
 cest palais. car bien sachiez chertainement que les auentures de chaiens
 ne remanront¹ par vous ne par autre deuant che que li boins cheualiers
 ivenra qui les auentures du saint graal metra a fin. chil achieuera toutes 10
 les auentures que uous aues anuit ueues. & si me deliuerra de ceste
 paine ou iou sui. si vous di que vous vous en porres aler quant il vous
 plaira car vous ni feres plus que vous iaues fait. or me dites fait boors
 comment souffres vous ces culeures entour uostre col qui tel mal vous
 font si comme il mest auis. enondieu fait cil asouffrir le me couient. en 15
 tel maniere prent diex veniance des grans orgieus que iou fis iadis. & se
 iou en estoie quites par ceste paine terriene iou men tenroie a bien paies
 & a boin eure. car tant ai fait de maus en ma vie que a paines porroie
 iou adieu acorder si uoeil que vous sachiez que bien ai deseruie ceste
 paine que iou seusfre 20

A tant sen parti li hom sans plus dire si li uoloit encore boors demander
 plusours choses. mais chil entra en sa chambre comme chil qui
 nauoit congiet de plus demourer. ains entra en la chambre dont il estoit
 issus. adont ne demora gaires que parmi la verine entra li blans coulons
 qui en son bec portoit lencensier dor. si entra [fol. 149, col. a] en la 25
 chambre dont li greaus estoit issus la nuit deuant. maintenant fu li
 palais cois & seris & raemplis de toutes les boines odours du monde. & il
 flairoit ausi souef com se toutes les epees del monde i fuissent espandues.

Maintenant issirent dune chambre enfant qui estoient tant biel quil
 30 sambloient mie quil fuissent enfant terrien mais esperituel si por-
 toient .iiii. candelles en .iiii. candelers & apres eus aloit .i. hom vieus
 anchiens & tous kenus qui portoit en sa main vn enchensier. si estoit
 vestus comme prestres sauf che quil nauoit point de casure afulee. &
 portoit en vne de ses mains vne lanche & quant boors le vit il sen esmer-
 ueilla mout durement. car il vit ke du fer de la lanche chaoient gouttes 35
 de sanc qui degoutoient lune apres lautre aual le fust. mais il ne set que
 eles deuient & boors pense que che soit sainte cose & digne si sage-
 noille en contre & lencline. & chil qui la portoit uint droitement a la
 chaiere si sasist de dens puis dist a boort. sire vous estes li plus purs &
 li plus nes qui onques mais entrast chaiens de la maison le roi artu si 40
 porres dire quant uous uenres en uo pais que vous aues ueue la lanche
 uengeresse si ne saues que cest ne ne sares deuant chou que li sieges de
 la table reonde que on apiele perillex ara trouue son lieu & son maistre.

11 "remueront."

mais par celui qui si asserra sares uous la uerite de ceste lance. & qui la porta en cest pais & dont ele vint. & ne pourquant seancelot se fust aussi bien gardes comme uous estes des le commencement. il meist tot afin dont uous estes ore en paine. car il est tant boins cheualiers que nus
 5 plus. car il na son per el monde. mais il est dautres uises si enpiries que toutes les boines uertus qui estoient en lui sont mortes par foeblece des rains.

Lors sen uait chil atout la lance quil auoit apportee & sen entre en la maistre chambre si ne demoura gaires que il uit en la sale ius-
 10 qua .xii. damoiseles qui mout estoient pourement uestues & apareillies. car iou uous di certainement que lor garniment ne ualoient se petit non si uenoient tout bielement lune apres lautre & ne disoient mot. mais eles plouroient si durement quil nest nus cuers sil loist qui pitie nen eust. si vont tant queles viennent al huis de la cambre. si sarestent illeuc & saie-
 15 noillent illeuc. & font [col. b] trop grant doeuil. & toutes uois parmi le grant doeil queles faisoient disoient eles proieres & orisons & il nen set que dire. car de toutes choses que auenues li sont nen set il la senefianche si le saroit il mout uolentiers a celes qui les lui sont sil ne quidoit que maus nen auenist. & si dist il quil nen iroit mie ensi quil nen sace
 20 aucunes nouuieles sestre puet en nule maniere

Lors vint boors a vne des damoiseles & li dist. damoisele se diex uous consaut dites moi de uostre estre & pour coi vous plores ensi. ha? sire fait la damoisele laissies nous en pais. si nous laissies faire le seruice que nous auons enpris car de nostre estre ne sares uous ne tant ne quant.
 25 a tant les laisse boors en pais si sala seoir el lit. & les damoiseles ne demeurent plus. ains sen uont. quant che vint .i. poi deuant la mie nuit lor auint boors deuant la chambre ou il auoit si grante clarte. quil sanloit que li solaus i eust son habitacle si crut tous iors & amenda plus & plus. lors uaut dedens entrer mais il uit vne espee clere & luisant apareillie de
 30 lui ferir sil aloit plus auant. & il retourne maintenant. car bien uoit que ceste auenture est de par dieu. mais toutesuois esgarda il tant en la chambre que il i vit vne table dargent qui estoit sour .iiii. fuisiaus mais li fuisiel estoient tant biel & tant riche comme chil qui tout estoient couuert dor. mais encore estoit cascuns plus merueilleus si con lescrip-
 35 ture du saint graal le deuise. & deuisera quant lieux & tans en sera? sour la table dargent estoit li greaus couuert dun samit blanc. & deuant la table auoit .i. viel home reuestu en guise deuesque. & quant il ot demore vne grant pieche. il se drecha en estant & vint maintenant au saint vaissiel. a dont i ot si grant clarte que de plus grant noi onques
 40 mais hom parler

Acel point que li preudom osta le samit de sour le saint graal si sespandi par laiens si grant clartes quil fu auis a boort que en mi le¹ uis & es iex le fert uns rais du soleil si en deuint esperdus quil¹ en

¹ Guesswork.

perdi toute la nuit sa veue. si quil ne vit goute. lors oi boors vne uois qui li dist boort ne vien plus auant¹ pour coi fait [fol. 149, col. c, verso] il. pour cou fait la uois que tu nies mie dignes de ueoir plus des secres de chaisens. & se tu ies tant hardis que tu sour ceste desfense vieignes auant tu nen escaperas sans perdre la force de tes membres si comme daler & de ueir & seras tous iours ausi comme vne pieche de fust & ce sera trop grans damages car mout es¹ preus & hardis.

Quant boors entent ceste nouele il en ot moult grant paour car bien quide que che soit uoirs si sen retourne arriere si sen uait uers le lit ou il auoit sis mais il ne uoit goute ne pour quant se sent il sain & haitie fors de la plaie quil auoit eue de la lanche. si commença tout maintenant aquerre le lit aual & amont. en tel maniere fu boors laiens iusqual ior si fu mout durement esmaies car il quidoit bien auoir perdue la ueue a tous iours mais si uous di que se me sire Gauaine oi grant ioie & grant melodie qui i fu. encore i ot ore plus grant. mais toute la nuit fu ensi que onques ne but ne ne manga si fu mout espoentes que nostre sires ne fust courechies alui. si uous di que al aiourner il ot mout grant ioie a son cuer. maintenant entra laiens li rois pelles & sa biele fille auoc lui. & quant il troeuent boort sain & haitie si en fisent mout grant ioie. & li rois li dist si mait diex nous auons anuit este moult a malaise pour uous si en parolent en tel maniere a lui & li dient que onques mais nus ni fu qui sen peust passer sans honte auoir & uous en est miex auenu quil en auenist onques mais a nul home si nous en est font il mout biel.

Cel iour demoura laiens boors que onques pour cose que il deist ne len laissierent partir ne pour cose que il peust faire si li fisent moult grant ioie. car mout estoient liet de lauenture que diex lor auoit dounee. si li demanda li rois. sire pour dieu ueistes vous mon pere. si mait diex fait il iou nel counois point. sire fait il chou est li rois mehaignies que on apiele le roi pesceour le meillour cheualier & le plus hardi qui onques fust a son tans. & comment fu che fait boors quil fu mehaignies. enon-dieu fait li rois che fu pour loutrage que il fist. quant il traist lespee du fuerre qui nen deuoit mie estre ostee deuant che que li cheualiers len osteroit qui merroit² afin les auen- [fol. 149, col. d, verso] tures du saint graal. & pour ce quil le traist sour le desfens que mis iestoit li fu lespee ferue parmi les quisses si quil en fu mehaignies si quil nara iamais gari-son deuant chou que li boins cheualiers iuenra qui de son sanc len ondera ses plaies. sire fait boors iou ne le vi pas. mais por dieu de la lanche que iou ui me dites nouieles car mout me vient agrant merueille. car iou ui goutes de sanc qui en issirent & cest une cose que mout uolentiers uauoie sauoir sestre pooit. si mait diex boort fait li rois il nest mie raisons que la uerite de la lance uous sois dite ne a vous ne a autrui. mais quant la queste du saint graal sera enprise³ que tout li boin che-

¹ MS "est."² "merroit" or "metroit."³ MS "enprsse."

ualier du monde se traueilleront adont ensera la uerite descouuerte a vous & a autres de che que vous demandes ne deuant lors nen sares uous la uerite. & il dist quil sen souferra atant puis quil uoit que afaire li couient. Tout le iour demora boors laiens & la nuit ausi & alendemain
 5 bien matin se parti de laiens tous armes & tous apareillies si se mist sour son cheual & vous di quil ceuaucha tant par ses iornees que il vint a camaalot, mais dauenture qui li auenist puis quil se parti de corbenic ne parole mie li contes ains le ramaine acourt le iour de pentecouste.

10 **O**r dist li contes que li rois artus estoit uenus de conquerre le roi claudas de la deserte ensi con lestoire de lancelet raconte & quant il fu uenus a camaalot il fist sauoir atous chiaus qui en la grant bertaingne estoient qui de lui tenoient tere quil tenroit au iour de pentecoste court a camaalot la plus grant & la plus enforcie que il tenist mais piecha. & il lor manda quil ne laissassent en nule maniere
 15 que il ne uenissent au plus hounorablement que il porroient. ceste nouuele courut mout tost & fu seue partout & en escoche & en yrlande & en toutes les illes de mer qui pres estoient de la grant bertaingne. si sappareillent cheualier & dames & damoiseles pour aconplir le commandement le roi & pour uenir a la feste qui grande sera che quident

20 **T**il bien
 tant est alee la nouele & pres & loing quil en oient parler en la court le roi pelles & que sa fille de qui lancelet auoit engendre galaad & que encore lamoit tant que feme pooit plus amer home le sot. si demanda congiet a son pere quil le laissast aler acele feste & a cele court qui tant
 25 seroit bieles & iolie si comme ele auoit oi dire. & il li otroia mout uolentiers [*fol. 150, col. a*] quant ele ot lotroi de son pere ele prist od lui brisane sa maistresse & dames & damoiseles & escuiers iusqua .xl. si sesmuet pour aler a camaalot & en mena auoc lui galaad qui mout estoit biaux enfes de son eage si le porta .i. escuiers deuant lui sour vn palefroï fort & isnel
 30 & bien portant.

En tel maniere erra la damoisele tant que ele uint a heure de midi la uegile de la pentecouste a camaalot & descendi en la court aual entre lui & sa compaignie. & on li fist mout grant ioie & moult grant feste. & boors lamena amont par la main qui moult grant ioie li fist.
 35 & quant chil de laiens virrent le grant biaute de lui si disent & asfermerent quil nauoient onques mais ueue si bieles feme comme ele estoit. la roine li fist toute lounor que ele pot pour chou que tant estoit bieles & estraitte de haut lignage si li laisse vne partie de sa chambre pour metre de ses coses vne partie. quant lancelet la vit tant bieles il dist a soi meesme que uoirement eust il fait trop grant desloiaute sil eust occhise si
 40 bieles dame comme ele estoit si se repent moult del samblant que il en fist quil ne lose regarder. & cele qui tant lamoit quele ne pot rien tant amer le regarde mout uolentiers & moult se delite en lui ueoir & moult se

plaint en son cuer de cou quil ne lesgarde ausi uolentiers comme ele fait lui. & ele ne se coile mie a sa maistresse. ains li dist. moult fis que fole que iou mis mon cuer en amer si haut home comme est me sire lancelot du lac. car il ne me daigne regarder. ne uous esmaies mie fait brisane que se diux me consaut ains que nous departons de ceste court le metrai 5 iou en uostre saisine que ia cose ne uaudres auoir de lui que uous naiies.

La feste est commenchie la vigille de la pentecoste grande & merueilleuse & encore uaut ele mix asses pour la damoisele que li rois tenoit atant bele que il ne uit onques mais si bele rien ce dist il bien & ausi font tout li autre. si se painent mout de lui seruir li poure & li rice. 10 mais sour tout lonorement le seruioient li .iii. cousin boors ly oniax & hector & che faisoient il pour lamor de lancelot. dont il sauoient bien lafaire qui auoit este entre lui & la damoisele. ne il nesgardoient rien si uolentiers comme il faisoient lor petit cousin lenfant con apeloit Galaad. au mardi soir auint que la roine dist a lancelot que ele lenuoieroit querre 15 par vne damoisele au premier somme. & il dist quil venroit tantost [fol. 150, col. b] quil orroit le mesage comme cil qui mout amoit sa dame la roine.

Brisane qui mout se metoit en grant agait de deceuoir lancelot oi ceste parole si nen set que quidier fors tant que ele pense bien que il 20 doieue aler a sa dame la roine. brisane fu mout lie de ceste parole si le dist a la damoisele & li creanta que ele li amenroit anuit lancelot a son lit assure en puet estre. & ele li dist que ce li plaisoit mout. car moult amoit lancelot de grant amour. au soir quant il furent tuit couchie par laiens brisane qui mout auoit grant doutanche que la damoisele la roine 25 ne souspresist lancelot que ele uenist anchois au lit que ele. si se lieue & sen uait au lit ou lancelot gisoit comme cele qui bien le sauoit & li dist tout bielement sire ma dame vous atent hastes vous. damoisele fait il iou uois. or sus fait ele. & il saut sus en braies & en chemises. & ele le prent par le main si lenmaine droit au lit a la damoisele. & chil se couche 30 de les lui & cele le rechoit a grant ioie & il li fait autel soulas & autel ioie comme il auoit a coustume a faire a sa dame la roine. car il quidoit uraument que che fust ele. en tel ioie & en tel deduit sendorment cil dune part & cele dautre & se tint cascuns a boin eure. cil de sa dame que il quide tenir. & cele del home del monde que ele plus aime. si ne pensent 35 mie granment ala dame qui se gisoit & languissoit en son lit pour son ami lancelot que ele atendoit. quant ele a grant piece attendu & ele uit quil demouroit tant si sen esmerueilla mout que che puet estre. car ele ne li commanda onques mais rien que il ne li fesist. lors apiele sa cousine qui tant ot este en la prison de gaunes & bien sauoit lafaire de lui & de 40 lancelot. se li dist que ele sen uoist au lit lancelot & len amaint auoec lui. & ele li dist que che fera ele moult uolentiers si sen vient au lit ou lancelot auoit la nuit couchie si tasta amont & aual mais ele ne le pot

mie trouuer car il ni estoit mie. quant ele ot grant piece mis a lui querre si sen reuint a sa dame si li conte quele ne la mie troue

Quante que il soi tales a chambre si atent vne piece & puis ireuait
 5 la damoisele ueoir si nen troua mie. puis sen retourne & sen vint a sa
 dame la roine & li conte & ele fu tant dolante que nule plus. la chambre
 ou la roine gisoit [*fol. 150, col. c, verso*] estoit moult grans si que la fille
 au roi pelles igisoit dune part entre lui & ses damoiseles & la roine gisoit
 dautre part. & cele nuit auoit la roine ostees ses damoiseles dentour lui
 10 pour chou que eles ne sapercussent de la uenue lancelet. che fu apres
 mienuit que lancelet se commença a plaindre tout endormant si comme
 il auient par maintes fois que gens se plaignent en dormant. & la roine
 qui ne dormoit mie loi tot maintenant si le recounoit au plaint que il
 ieta si sot maintenant que il estoit auoc la fille le roi pelles dont ele fu
 15 mout dolante & en fist tel cose dont ele se repentí puis. & ele nauoit mie
 apris que lancelet se courechast. si fu tant dolante de ceste auenture
 quil nest nus hom qui dire le uous peust.

Maintenant se lieue la roine en estant & se commence a estoussir &
 tantost sesuelle lancelet & quant il ot sa dame la roine si loing de
 20 lui. & il sent celui si pres de lui. il saperchoit tantost quil est decheus.
 lors uest sa chemise & sen vint ala roine mais la roine qui se fu cauchie
 pour lui prendre laiart au poing & counoist la main que ele ot maintes
 fois tenue. & lors li dist tant dolante que ele samble quele doie du sens
 issir. Ierres traitres maluais qui en ma chambre deuant moi aues fait ore
 25 ribaudise fuies de chi & gardes que iamais ne viegnies en lieu ou ie soie.
 dame fait il pour dieu aies merchi de moi. car il nest mie si con uos
 quidies. si mait diex fait la roine che na mestier mais ales vous ent.

Quant lancelet ot cest commandement il nose mot dire. ains sen uait
 tout ensi comme il estoit sans armeure & vient uers la court aual &
 30 sen uait uers le iarding le roi & entre dedens & sen uait toute la uoie
 tant que il vint as murs de la chite & se mist hors par vne fenestre. quant
 il est hors issus il esgarde la vile de camaalot & li souuint de sa dame
 que il laisse. & des grans ioies & des grans deduis que il a eues par
 maintes fois & ore len conuerra souffrir & mal traire par maintes fois
 35 desore maïs & paine & trauail. lors ueissies home dolant & courecie &
 faire mout grant doeuil. il esrache ses cheueus qui tant estoient biel. & il
 esgratine son uis si que li sans en saut de toutes pars. quant il est tex
 atournes quil a tout le viaire sanglant. il com- [*fol. 150, col. d, verso*] menche
 a maudire ceste auenture qui tant li est crueuse & felenesse. car iusqual
 40 iour dui a il este li plus eureus cheualiers del monde. or li conuerra vser
 le remanant de sa vie en plours & en larmes et en toutes maleurtes. ensi
 se dolouse & tourmente iusqual point du iour. quant il vit que li iours
 vint il dist si dolans quil ne set que il puest faire ha. camaalot boine

chites & bien garnie de cheualerie & bien garnie de dames. quant iou quidai mieus uiure ai pris entoi mort a cest commencement. car iou sui uenus au doeul dont iou mourrai. a cest mot se fiert en la forest plourant a caudes larmes & criant mors haste toi de uenir a moi car iou sui de uiure tous anuiies

Entel maniere erraancelot par la forest .iii. iors & .iii. nuis sans boire & sans mangier es plus sauages lieux que il sauoit comme chil qui ne uoloit mie estre conneus ne encontres par home qui larestast .x. iors erra en tel maniere falsant tel doeul que merueille estoit comment il duroit. si fist tant dedens i chel terme que il fu hors du sens si quil ne sauoit quil faisoit si erra en tel maniere .i. mois tout entier quil nencontra home ne feme a qui il ne se presist. si fist maint anui a maintes gens dedens cel terme. car sil encontrast dame ne damoisele ele ne se partesist de lui se li eust il fait anui si fu grant merueille que il ne fu mors par tele auenture. mais atant laist ore li contes a parler de lui & retourne au roi artu & a ceus qui a camaalot estoient remes.¹

Or dist li contes que quantancelot se fu parti des chambres la roine. ou il ot este soupris auoc la fille le roi pelles qui bien sauoit quil sestoit partis adoeul & a perdition se diex ni metoit conseil. lors dist a la roine ha dame mal aues exploitie qui aues enchacie de court le plus uailant home del monde. si mait diex uous enrepentires encore. damoisele fait la roine iout ce maues uous fait & pourchachie. or sachiez se ie en puis uenir en lieu en tel maniere le uous guer- [*fol. 151, col. a*] redonerai con uous aues deserui. mar fuissies vous onques si bele. car uostre biaute comperront² encore maint pseudome &ancelot meesment dont cest mout grant damages. si poes bien dire que par ceste cose sera encore ceste corsen doeul & en tristreche qui a ceste pentecoste a este tant lie. car si tost comme il ne porront trouer celui qui de chi se part il commenceront pour lui vne queste la plus grant qui onques fust. quant la damoisele ot chou si ne set que dire de ceste cose car bien guide que la roine die uoir. lors commencha a plourer mout durement. & en ce quele faisoit cest doeul se uest & apareille & pleure tous iours & maine grant doel de cou que ele a fait. & pense que mais a pieche ne le uerra. si en est tant dolante que nule plus car ele lamoit sour tous homes.

Al matin quant il fu aiourne se leua la damoisele & sesueilla toute sa maisnie & lor dist apareillies uos harnois car maintenant men irai. si tost con iou aurai parle au roi & il li disent que tout estoit prest. & ele uint tout maintenant au roi si le salua & li demanda congiet car ele sen ueut aler en son pais si comme ele dist. & li prie mout doucement de remanoir mais ele ne li ueut pas otroier. & quant il uoit que ele ne remanroit mie il monta tout maintenant a grant compaignie de cheualiers

¹ Miniature No. 14. "Ensi commeancelot sen part dune chambre en braies & en chemise tous nus.

² "Coromperront."

auoec lui & la conuoia. uiscala forest de camaalot. puis retourna li rois si la commanda adieu & ele lui. lors apiela la damoisele boort & li dist que ele uoloit a lui parler. lors se traient a vne part loins des autres si li conta maintenant comment il estoit auenu deancelot & comment la
 5 roine les auoit pris ensamble & li conta comment la roine li auoit doune congiet & comment il sen estoit partis en chemise & en braies sans autre uesteure si vous pri fait ele que vous le queres. car sil na conseil prochainement ou par vous ou par autrui il porra cheir enteil maladie dont il ne sera mie legierement garis. si sera trop grans damages. car il est boins
 10 cheualiers.

Quant boors ot cele parole il ne fu mie aaise. car trop amoitancelot. se li dist. damoisele puis quil est ensi que il uous en couvient aler iou uous commant adieu. & sachiez que iou enterrai tout maintenant en
 15 queste de mon seignorancelot. ne iamais ne finerai deuant cheque iou larai trouue. atant se departent li uns de lautre si sen uait la damoisele en son pais dolante & courechie de ceste auenture qui auene [fol. 151, col. b] li estoit. & boors qui estoit remes a camaalot uint a la roine & li dist. dame pour
 20 coi uous aues vous ensi trais. que mon seignor qui estoit li plus preudom du monde & tant vous amoit aues si uilainement cachie de court. si mait diex maint mal en seront encore fait & puis que uous ne quidies car ore
 25 endroit uerres commenchier vne queste qui iamais a nul iour du monde ne sera finee & dont maint preudome mourront qui ne laront pas deserui. si poes dire que nos lignages est plus abaissies par uous quil ne sera iamais amontes.

Cele qui tant est courecie que nule plus li respont. boort si mait diex
 30 uoirement ai ie honi le plus preudome del monde si en sui tant dolante que iou uauroie estre fondue en abisme si uous en cri merchi si fesisse iou lui sil fust chi. car iou uoel bien que uous sachiez quil na home el monde que iou aime autretant com iou fais lui. & pour ce fui ie
 35 tant dolante quant iou le trouuai auoec la damoisele car tele en fui atournee que bien enquit issir del sens. dame fait boors iou croi que il nest mie loing de chi & pour chou irai iou pour mes armes & le querai tant loing & pres que iou le trouerai se iou puis & qui ira od vous.
 40 enondieu hestor des mares ivenra & lyoniaus mes freres. or uous maint diex fait la roine en tel lieu ou uous le puissies trouer. car iamais ne serai lie deuant che quil sera trouues. lors vint boors a hector & a lyonel & lor dist seignour prendes uos armes & venes auoec moi en cele forest ou iai vn poi a faire. quant il oient chou il li demandent sil a grant
 45 besoing. iou le vous dirai mout bien. fait boors quant nous serons hors de chaisens. mais faites che que iou uous di. & chil virrent a lor osteus puis se font maintenant armer puis murent & sen issent de laiens sans escuier & sans serians¹ & quant il furent uenu as chaus si lor dist boors.

¹ MS "serrans."

Biau seignour fait boors saues uous pour coi iou uous ai chi amenes
 nenil fait cascuns & il lor conte maintenant lauenture deancelot &
 comment la roine lauoit soupris auoec la fille au roi pelles dont ele ot si
 grant doeuil quele en quida bien du sens issir & il sen ala en braies &
 en chemise. si ai moult grant peur que il ne senuoist en teil lieu que il ne
 reviegne [fol. 151, col. c, verso] mais a pieche. & iou uous ai fait armer
 pour lui querre ains que il soit trop eslongies.

De ceste cose sont cil tant amalaie que apaines le uous porroit nus
 conter comme cil qui mout doutent les mescheances qui auient si
 dient que chi a maluaie auenture & quil doiuent mout hair & maudire
 leure que il acointa la roine parfoi fait lyoniaus se ele li dona congiat vn
 poi estoutement. il laime tant forment que iou ai grant paour que il ne
 sochie & pour chou ne sai iou que dire de ceste cose fors que nous pen-
 sons de lui querre au miex que nous porrons & il si accordent tuit. &
 boors lor dist biau seignour puis que nous ne sauons comment il nous
 auenra en ceste queste ou del demourer ou del reuenir vous di iou que
 nous soions tout au iour saint iohan au castiel maran qui est pres de chi
 ala fin de ceste forest lors dira cascuns chou quil ara trouue. & il si
 acordent tuit si se departent li uns de lautre & uont demandantancelot
 par bours & par chites parmi religions & parmi hermitages. si cerkent
 tous les lieux ou il quident que cheualier doiuent repaier. mais il ne
 viennent en lieu ou il puissent oir noueles deancelot. ains dient tuit que
 il nen seuent rien si pesa mout a maintes gens de ceste auenture dolereuse
 qui auenue lor estoit. entel maniere errerent li .iii. cousin ius qual iour
 de le saint iehan que li uns nencontra lautre & sentremenderent com-
 ment il lauoient puis fait si trouerent que entreus tous nen auoient riens
 apris si enfurent moult courechie car mout auoient grant paour que il ne
 fust ochis ou cheus en aucune maladie

Entremetres que il parloient ensi & prenoient conseil de ceste cose.
 si seregardent & uoient uenir vn cheualier arme & vne damoisele &
 .ii. escuiers & trespassoient parmi le castiel si comme auenture les
 menoit. & boors vint au cheualier & li prie que il li die quel part il deuoit
 aler seignor fait il aceus qui li demandoient iou uaueroie ore estre a la
 court le roi artu. car estre mi couerra au plus tost que iou poerai. ha?
 sire fait boors puis que uous ales a court faites moi vn seruice qui mout
 petit uous coustera & saues uous quels il sera. uous dirois au roi que
 uous trouuastes compaignons qui quierentancelot du lac. & ont mout
 grant paour que il ne soit perdu & que pour lui somes entre en ceste
 queste & en a-[fol. 151, col. d, verso]uons mout grant paour car nous
 nen poons oir nouueles. si prions au roi que il le fache querre par toute
 sa terre sauoir sil porroit trouuer qui nouueles len aportast. & se li rois
 uous demande qui chou li mande si li dites boors de gaunes & lyoniaus

ses freres & hestor des mares ses cousins & il dist que che fera il bien si se partent atant li uns de lautre. mais au departir li demanda boors

L comment il auoit non. & il dist quil auoit non melians du tertre.

Lors ceuauche tant quil vint au roi artu ou il ne trouua mie mout de
 5 gent. li rois artus estoit asses courechies pour les .iiii. cousins qui si sont perdu quil nen set ne uent ne uoie. quant melians fu uenus deuant le roi il li dist che que boors li auoit mande lors ueissies le roi courechie & plain dire si dist que ci auoit trop grant damage. mais me sire Gauaine a cui il en pesoit plus que a tous ceus de la table reonde demanda main-
 10 tenant ses armes si dist erramment que se diex li aidast iamais ne reuenroit a court deuant che quil aroit trouue les .iii. cousins. qui lancelet uont querrant. & tout entel maniere fait¹ me sire ywains. & dist quil li feroit compaignie. & ensi dist saigremors & agloulal & gaheriet & mordes & tant des autres quil furent bien iusqua .xiii. si sesmurent tout ensamble puis
 15 se partirent de la court & errerent tant amont & aual quil trouuerent les. .iii. cousins qui lancelet aloient querant & lors fu la queste recommenchie qui en tout lan ne fu laissie. ains dura tout cel an & lautre apres si la tint li vns plus que li autres. mais pour cou quil ne trouuerent lancelet sen taist ore li contes aparler deus & retorne a parler dagloulal.

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¹ "fait" not in MS.

OLD FRENCH INFLUENCE ON MIDDLE ENGLISH PHRASEOLOGY

I

The inherent interest in the growth of the English language during the mediaeval period seems, in the light of the following brief researches, to justify a further criticism of a dissertation by Mr. F. H. Sykes, entitled *French Elements in Middle English* (Oxford, 1899).¹

Mr. Sykes defines thus the purpose of his investigation:

This dissertation aims to show that Middle-English became in its phrasal forms "halb-französisch;" that its phrasal power is indeed pre-eminently Romance in character. . . . The object of the present study is to show how, to what extent, and at what time the English language schooled itself to new phrasal expressions, which were often without equivalents in Anglo-Saxon, but which sometimes displaced equivalent Anglo-Saxon expressions; to show how far these phrasal changes proceeded under the influence of the Old French . . . ; to show the chronological movement of those phrasal changes so as to establish a comparison with the movement of change in the vocabulary; to draw from any ascertained results some conclusions respecting the character and chronology of the formation of standard English.

The "General Conclusions" on page 63 of his dissertation are practically in accord with the purpose of the thesis so definitely set forth at the outset.

¹The alternative title reads: "Chapters Illustrative of the Origin and Growth of Romance Influence on the Phrasal Power of Standard English in the Formative Period."

Professor W. Franz presented a very convincing review of this essay in the *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, July, 1900, cols. 241-43. He emphasized strongly the untrustworthiness of elements of this study, and concluded that "Die prinzipielle Frage der Beeinflussung des Mittenglischen seitens des Altfranzösischen ist durch die vorliegende Leistung um keinen Schritt gefördert worden." Cf. also W. K. in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1901, cols. 688, 689. The notices by Professor A. S. Cook in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, III, pp. 119, 120, and by Professor J. M. Garnett in the *American Journal of Philology*, XX, 4, p. 443, merely give a statement of contents.

A recent discussion by Professor A. Trampe Bødtker, "Bear and Take in Middle English Phrases" (Christiania, 1905; *Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter*, II, Hist.-Filos. Kl., 1905, No. 4), attempts to show that "the phrases pretended to be due to French influence are mainly based on Old English construction." My study, which presents evidence entirely from mediaeval languages, may serve to strengthen his conclusions. It will at least prove more definitely than has yet been done the untrustworthiness of Mr. Sykes's results. I may add here that a study of Old Norse phraseology, which was suggested to me by Professor Robinson, of Harvard University, is responsible for the present discussion, which was completed before the appearance of Professor Bødtker's treatise.

These confident declarations of purpose and of results are emphatic statements in regard to a somewhat obscure problem in the history of the English language between 1200 and 1400. The student of the history of English during this period of change—of decay and of growth—cannot but be skeptical as to the extensive phrasal power over the language which the author credits to the Old French. It is almost incredible that so vigorous a language as the Anglo-Saxon should so yield to an even dominating foreign tongue as to lose the power, which all languages must acquire as they become stronger, of forming such idiomatic expressions as are here brought forward. It is conceivable that in translations from a foreign tongue, or in works modeled closely after those of another language, many idiomatic expressions of one speech should be adopted by another. But that an entire language, used for purposes of communication and for artistic expression, a language of a people vigorous and growing, should, in the matter of one of the most subtle of the phenomena which a language displays, be so vitally affected as to become half-foreign—whether, in the case of English, *halb-französisch* oder *halb-nordisch* oder *halb-deutsch*—is a proposition the possibility of proof of which few students of language-growth would be prepared to admit.

Hence, this dissertation, which seeks to show the overwhelming influence of Old-French on Middle-English phraseology, deserves a careful scrutiny. The first part of the investigation, "Verbal Phrases," may serve not only for a study of some of the evidence in detail, but also for a more general consideration of the larger aspects of the subject, such as the method which the author adopts, his general attitude toward, and the soundness of his judgment in respect to, questions of chronological development, of change in language, and of the influences which were operative especially on the English language during the period under discussion.

The method to which Mr. Sykes adheres in his study seems to be as follows: a careful culling from the dictionaries of all phrases formed with the Middle-English verbs *beren*, *nimen*, and *taken*, likewise of those phrases formed with the Old-French verbs *porter*

and *prendre*; a study of the Middle-English phrases with respect to the uses of the verbs in Anglo-Saxon; and finally a consideration of the chronology of the Middle-English and Old-French phrases respectively. On the data so procured the author bases his conclusions as to the influence which Old French exerted on Middle English in the matter of its phrasal power. It will be evident, as the discussion proceeds, that this method of approach has its serious drawbacks, and that the conclusions at which the author arrives are not only not convincing, but that they are also in part in serious error.

At the outset, attention must be called to the undoubted insufficiency of the evidence which is offered by the dictionaries. A dictionary does not record all the uses of a word or phrase in any one author; neither does it attempt to record every appearance of a certain phrase in a language. Here is an evident limitation to the accurate determination of the forces which have exerted their influence on any language. The student must go to the literature itself; he must be satisfied not only of the mere existence of a phrase in the literature of a certain period, but also of the *extent* and *manner* of its appearance.¹ The kind of literature in which the phrase is found is often of primary importance in determining the history of that phrase. The detailed evidence in phrases which Mr. Sykes presents may rest upon a wide reading of the authors and works cited, but I see no ground for such an assumption. Some trustworthy results may come, as I believe they have come in this dissertation, without a wide reading knowledge of the literature; but no definite proof, as will appear from a study of some phases of the investigation, will be forthcoming until an exhaustive knowledge of Middle-English literature has been acquired or made use of by the inquirer in this field of linguistic history.

But granted for the moment that the evidence so secured from

¹ May not the phrasal significance of a combination of words, moreover, often be determined only by the frequency of its appearance? The individual words may in the mind of a certain author stand by themselves to denote separate conceptions; and the combination may have no special significance as a phrase. If, on the other hand, this group of words occurs frequently in the writings of an author, we may feel reasonably confident that the conception is single, the meaning depending on the phrasal force of the combination of words.

the dictionaries is sufficient, it is by no means safe to rest an argument for the influence of Old French on Middle English on the priority in date of the Old-French literature containing phrases identical with those in Middle English. The student must take into consideration the development of a language within itself—this necessity Mr. Sykes is not unmindful of—and the possibility of influence from more than one other kindred tongue. One language, at least, in view of its known intimate relations with Middle English, cannot be overlooked in an investigation of this sort. I refer to the Old Norse. Mr. Sykes is complacently neglectful of the very close connection between the Old-Norse language and Middle English. Under the discussion of *nimen*, *taken*, he says (p. 13):

The introduction of Old Norse *taka*, "take, seize, catch, grasp, reach," etc., which constantly won ground on *nimen* during the Middle English period, contributed much to the growth of phrases, but the evidence of the chronology and of the authors here cited shows that in the main we have to reckon with French influence and not Norse in the extension of the phrasal use of *take* during the period of which we treat. The definition of Old Norse phrasal influence is much to be desired.

I fail to see wherein the evidence of the chronology and of the authors cited shows the lack of Old-Norse influence. Mr. Sykes's statement, if it means anything, should be supported by direct proof. Of such he presents none. The truth of the matter seems to be that the author is not endeavoring "to show how, to what extent, and at what time the English language schooled itself to new phrasal expressions;" what he does is to endeavor to show how, to what extent, and at what time the English language schooled itself to *Old-French* verbal expressions.¹ Herein lies the danger, which the author does not avoid, of a mental prejudice in favor of his thesis—a prejudice which causes him to neglect certain obvious facts of literary history, and to disregard the evidence and the aid toward a sound judgment of language-influence and language-changes which he might obtain from a

¹ This method of approach in the study of the relations between Old French and Middle English is not unique with Mr. Sykes. Cf. what Professor Jespersen has to say in regard to the investigations of E. Eikenkel.—*Progress in Language* (London, 1894), pp. 171, 172.

study of allied languages and literatures.¹ Obviously, then, the test of chronology which Mr. Sykes applies is not absolute.

It is not surprising that the result of Mr. Sykes's study of Middle-English verbal phrases under such limitations as are incident to his method of investigation, are not entirely convincing. A doubt arises in the mind of the critic as to the safeness with which Mr. Sykes may attribute so much phrasal influence to the Old French. As to how much of its present phrasal power the language would have acquired without any extraneous influence it is probably impossible to say. The history of other languages may doubtless furnish some evidence. But as to the *extent* of the Old-French influence on Middle English, the statement may be made with some degree of certainty that it was not nearly so widespread as the researches of Mr. Sykes would lead the reader to believe. The reasons for this statement will appear in the following section.

II

Certain literary monuments of the Middle-English period which were written in the north of England are generally assumed to lie beyond the pale of French influence. Among these, the most highly finished literary product which has come down to us is undoubtedly the *Ormulum*. Written about 1200 in the seclusion of a cloister by a monk who lived, according to ten Brink, in the northeastern part of the former kingdom of Mercia, the poem is practically free from Romance influence. Even if the opinion of Professor Kluge, that French influence had penetrated to the North by 1200 to a surprising degree,² be accepted, it is none the less true that this most important Middle-English monument is almost wholly without signs of intercourse with Romance literature or speech. I say "almost wholly," since Kluge gives a list of 23 words in Orm which he believes to be taken from the French; and furthermore declares that many surnames show French *Lautspuren*. Even with this evidence indicating some French influence, he would be most hardy, indeed, who should

¹ Professor Franz, *op. cit.*, calls attention to the evidence which Mr. Sykes might have secured from the history of the German language. Cf. also W. K., *op. cit.*

² "Das französische Element in Orm," *Englische Studien*, XXII, pp. 179-82.

suggest the possibility of any French *phrasal* influence on the *Ormulum*. A few foreign words may creep into an author's language when his knowledge of that foreign tongue is comparatively slight. But the presence in an author's speech of foreign idiomatic expressions such as verbal phrases demonstrates his entire familiarity with this outside language. As such an acquaintance with French in the case of Orm is out of the question, the possibility of any French phrasal influence in the *Ormulum* needs no further discussion.

If Orm was, as we have seen, little affected by the Old French, he was greatly influenced by the Old Norse. It is unnecessary to do more than state this universally admitted fact. What Kluge says about Old-Norse influence in general on Northern Middle English applies equally well to the *Ormulum*.

Noch in einem besonders bedeutsamen Zuge äussert sich der nordische Einfluss in England; es sind nicht bloss Stoffworte aus dem Skandinavischen entlehnt, sondern auch Formworte, besonders Pronominalworte. Derartiges begegnet wohl nur selten auf andern Sprachgebieten. Wir sehen daran wie intensiv die beiden Elemente sich gemischt haben müssen. Und zwar schon am Schluss der angelsächsischen Zeit.¹

Brate² gives 188 words in Orm taken direct from the Norse or showing strong Norse influence. Kingdon Oliphant³ says about Orm: "His book is the most thoroughly Danish poem ever written in England that has come down to us."

Now, if in the *Ormulum*, a poem free from French influence, these verbal phrases which Mr. Sykes ascribes to the Old French occur with considerable frequency, we are surely justified in denying the overwhelming French phrasal influence on Middle English. Furthermore, the justification of this denial is strengthened when we find that in Old-Norse literature anterior to or contemporary with Orm there exist in comparative abundance many of the identical phrases found in the *Ormulum* and in other Middle-English literature. And finally, though I do not urge it, the probability of considerable Old-Norse phrasal influence on

¹ Paul's *Grundriss*, I, p. 937, 2d edition.

² "Nordische Lehnwörter in Ormulum," *P. und B. B.*, X, pp. 1 ff.

³ *Old and Middle English*, 2d ed. (London, 1891), p. 180.

Orm¹ demands consideration, especially if we bear in mind the following facts: (1) the marked Old-Norse influence in general on Orm; (2) the Old-Norse literature in which these phrases occur is homiletic, sermonic; (3) much of the literature antedates the *Ormulum*.

Let us consider some of these verbal phrases, which Mr. Sykes attributes to the influence of Old French, with respect to their presence in Orm and the Old Norse respectively.

1. "Bear witness."

Orm:²

Ll. 12615-16 Annd I barr to þe leode

Wittness off himm

L. 18268 Whamm þu barr wittness to þe folle³

Ll. 18342-43 I barr himm wel wittness

L. 18929 He barr wittness

Cf. ll. 16888-89 Annd tohh swa þehh niss zuw nohht off

To takenn ne to trowwenn þatt wittness

Old Norse: *Leifar fornra kristinna froeda islenzkra*⁴, Arne Magneian No. 677, 4 to (c. 1180 A. D.):

P. 7, ll. 7-8 Verken bera vitni

P. 98, l. 12 þau ef vitni bera

P. 103, l. 27 oc boro iarteinir vitni heilagleic hans

P. 117, ll. 10-11 Sciotleicr iarteinar sialfr ber vitni

P. 138, l. 28 en þo bera guðspiallr orþ þat vitni

Norsk Homilie-Bog,⁵ A. M. 619 (c. 1170 A. D.):

P. 89, l. 32 oc bar vitni hinn sanna

P. 144, l. 18 Dat vitni bar honum sialfr droten Jesus Christ

P. 186, l. 2 Honum bar droten vár þat vitni

Arne Magneian MS No. 645⁶ (c. 1200 A. D.):

P. 90, ll. 28-29 øll vitne þau er þeir boro

¹This looks like an *argumentum ad hominem*. It is to be observed, however, that I do not deny the probability of considerable Old-French phrasal influence on Middle English in general. So the possibility of some Old-Norse influence may be suggested without ascribing to the northern language a preponderating share in the process of verbal phrasal composition in Middle English.

²The *Ormulum*, edited by Robert Holt (Oxford, 1878); two volumes.

³This phrase Mr. Sykes quotes among the examples of phrases influenced by the Old French. He evidently does not recognize the difficulties involved in an acceptance of such an influence in the *Ormulum*.

⁴Edited by P. Bjarnarson (Copenhagen, 1878).

⁵Edited by Unger (1864).

⁶*Isländska Handskriften No. 645 i den Arnemagnæanska Samlingen*, edited by L. Larsson (Lund, 1885).

None of the other verbal phrases with "bear" are found in Orm. When we come to verbal phrases with "take," we find a great abundance.

1. "Take baptism."

The word "baptism" is not found in the *Ormulum* (an indication probably of the absence of French influence; its presence in other Middle-English literature is, I believe, merely as a *lehnwort*). Orm preserves the Anglo-Saxon *fulluhht*. Yet we find various phrases which have nearly the same meaning as "take baptism," and hence may be offered here as evidence.

Orm:

Ll. 19923-25 Annd forr soþ crist þatt þurh Drihhtin

To manne cumenn waere

Annd takenn wel wipp hiss fulluhht

Cf. also l. 17911 toc þa þær to fullhtnenn

Ll. 1973 ff. Annd all þatt folle þatt fullhtnedd wass

Att cristes Lerninngenihtes

þeȝ alle takenn Haliȝ Gast

Cf. further l. 11160 takenn crisstenndom

Ll. 17016, 17457 takepp crisstenndom

Old Norse: *Leifar*:

P. 92, l. 27 oc (toc) hann scirn oc var vel cristin alla ęfi

Homilie-Bog:

P. 84, l. 18 toc fyrstr seurðarskirn

P. 191, l. 8 þu toet við scirn

A. M. No. 645:

P. 46, l. 30 oc toc scirn manne domini

P. 109, l. 4 oc toco marger scirn

Cf. *Homilie-Bog*:

P. 64, ll. 16, 17 ver tocum við cristni

2. "Take, flesh, humanity."

Orm:

Ll. 10436-37 Annd tiss daepshildiȝ mann þatt crist

Toc i þe laffdiȝ Marȝe

L. 18505 Ace he toc flaesh

Old Norse: *Leifar*:

P. 58, l. 24 ef hann toc manliet ęðli

P. 82, l. 22 þat er goddomr toc manzlicam

P. 180, l. 3 toc likam þrelz gaerr

P. 188, l. 3 ef þrels licam toc á sic.

Homilie-Bog:

- P. 68, ll. 27-28 þa er asnilegr guð toc synilégam manndom á sic.
- P. 69, ll. 31-32 at himna konongr tóe á sic iorð licams vars.
- P. 72, l. 21 oc tóe mannzlicam á sic.
- P. 80, l. 14 þa er hann toc manndom á sic.
- P. 119, l. 30 er galauslegr taecr hold oc bloð cristi.
- P. 140, l. 24 ac toc manndóm á iordu.
- P. 171, l. 18 þo at hann tóke manndom á sic.
- P. 119, l. 33 at hann toc hold.

3. "Take death."

Orm:

- Introd., l. 9 toc daep.
- Introd., l. 19 toc daep O rodetre.
- Introd., l. 84 toc O rode daep.
- L. 1423 toc daep.
- Cf. l. 15780 To þolenn daep o rodetre.
- L. 16268 O rode þolenn daep.

Old Norse: A. M. No. 645:

- P. 75, l. 17 toc licamligan dauða á sic.
- P. 128, l. 10 Dauða varn toc hann á sic.

Leifar:

- P. 74, l. 28 at sa leusti þa fra sunþom er sunfalauss toc dauþan.
- P. 74, l. 30 er licams dauþan toc á sic fur oss.
- P. 97, ll. 29-30 þa toc en dauþi ond.
- P. 169, l. 28 en prestrin toc braþan dauða. Cf. p. 88, l. 5 ef hann hafði *banasott tecna*.
- P. 93, l. 8 ef hann toc bana.
- P. 125, l. 15 Ef Eumorphius hafði *tekit banasott*.
- P. 140, l. 6 ef hann toc banasott.
- P. 168, l. 24 þa er Cuthbert toc banasott.

Homilie-Bog:

- Cf. p. 145, l. 22 oc toco bana.

4. "Take example."

Orm preserves Anglo-Saxon *bisen* and likewise Anglo-Saxon *niman*.

Orm:

- L. 2114 Takeþþ *bisne*.
- L. 4834 takenn *bisne*.
- L. 14586 þu takesst *bisne*.
- L. 14470 Annd jiff þu *bisne* takenn willt.

L. 14696 Annd þu takesst bisne.

Ll. 14826, 14920 takesst bisne.

L. 14822 nimesst bisne.

Numerous uses of *bisne* with the verb "to give" occur:

Cf. l. 1230 gifepp bisne.

L. 3747 gifenn bisne.

L. 15004 gifenn bisne.

Also ll. 2688, 2908-9, 2914-15, 3747, 4238-39, 4885, 6668, 7350, 8763-64, 9068, 12969, 14944, 15741, 19640.

Bisne is also used with *follzhenn*:

Cf. l. 2150 to follzhenn hire bisne.

Also ll. 5289, 5609, 6651, 7718, 8058, 8987-8, 9005-6, 10214, 10948-49.

In the light of the foregoing evidence from Orm, there is no necessity of or justification for one's ascribing the verbal phrase "take example" in Middle English to the influence of Old French. The single word "example" doubtless came from that source.

5. "Take heed, take keep, take *zeme*."

Mr. Sykes ascribes these three phrases to the influence of Old-French *prendre garde*, and, in the case of the last, also to *prendre cure*. It is to be noticed that the three words "heed," "keep," *zeme* are of Germanic origin, as is, of course, the verb "take." Of these words *zeme* is the only one in the *Ormulum* where it appears as *gom*. Its uses in Orm permit it to take any of the three meanings, so closely connected, of "heed," "keep," and *zeme*.

Orm:

Ll. 916-17 Forrpi ratt he ne namm nan gom
To fillenn all hiss wikenn.

Ll. 2910-11 þatt zuw birrþ nimenn mikell gom
Hu mikell pine itt follzhepp.

L. 4162 þiff þu þe sellf wel nimepp gom.

Ll. 5086, 6215.

L. 10950 þiff ratt he nimepp gom.

Ll. 13062, 14576 nimenn gom.

Ll. 14694-95 Annd þu nimesst mikell gom
Till Abrahamess dede.

Ll. 14820, 14918.

- Ll. 15014-15 Annd ȝiff ȝu takesst mikell gom
To follȝhenn Cristes bisne.
Ll. 15856-57 ȝurrrh ȝatt he nimeȝȝ mikell gom
Whatt gate ille an himm ledeȝȝ.
Ll. 16136-37 ȝatt nohht niss off to nimenn gom
off naness manness eȝȝe.
L. 16930.
Ll. 16988-89 Himm haȝȝde takenn mikell gom
off Cristess miccle tacness.
L. 18839 nimenn gom.
L. 19912 Ne namm nan gom off sinne.

6. "Take end."

Orm:

- L. 8108 ȝatt daȝȝ ȝatt he toc ende.
L. 8252 Annd ȝaere he toc hiss ende.
Cf. l. 3243 he ȝaȝȝ hiss ende.
L. 17752 he ȝife hiss ende.

7. "Take wife."

Orm:

- L. 3139 Annd toc wel wiȝȝ hiss macche.
L. 7663 ȝatt daȝȝ ȝatt ȝho toc macche.

8. "Take rest."

Orm:

- L. 12991 Takenn reste.

Phrases found in the Old-Norse homiletic literature and not in Orm:

1. "Take cross."

Homilie-Bog:

- P. 141, l. 24 er aeigi taecr cross sin.
Cf. l. 27 bera cross drotens.

2. "Bear name."

Leifar:

- P. 64, l. 18 ef opt bera nȝfn hina.
Cf. p. 61, l. 18 ȝa taka ȝeir her nȝfn.
P. 165, l. 15 taca nȝfn af hino.

3. "Take order."

Leifar:

- P. 67, l. 8 Ef teer við boȝorȝom hans.

The foregoing observations on some phases of Mr. Sykes's dissertation, with the accompanying citation of verbal phrases from the Old Norse and the *Ormulum*, will serve, as the reader has no doubt already observed, at best merely to discredit much of the evidence offered by the author. The reason for my discussion of but one part of the essay is obvious.

The collection of verbal phrases with *beren*, *nimen*, *taken* from Orm is exhaustive. In itself it shows that the verbal phrasal power of Middle-English *taken* (Mr. Sykes dwells longest on this verb) is not pre-eminently Romance in character. The evidence from the Old Norse, I feel, is mainly contributory. These Old-Norse homilies and the *Ormulum* were composed about the same time. If the Old-Norse documents antedate the *Ormulum*,¹ the critic may be justified in ascribing to the Old Norse considerable verbal phrasal influence on Middle English of the verb *taka*, which had by itself gained so strong a foothold on English soil.

The chronology of the phrasal power of *taken*, as set forth by Mr. Sykes on page 22 of his dissertation, is partly in error. *Take baptism*, which he puts in the second half of the fourteenth century, is found virtually in Orm (the idea involved in the phrase and not the exact words being important). *Take flesh*, *take death*, and *take rest*, which Mr. Sykes puts in the first half of the fourteenth century, must likewise go back to the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

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¹The reader will observe that the Old-Norse documents from which I quote bear earlier dates than the *Ormulum*. Other Old-Norse homiletic writings which show some of these phrases I have disregarded, either from uncertainty in regard to the date of composition or because they are probably of slightly later date.

NOTES ON SPANISH FOLKLORE

1. *Cuidar non es saber*

Tobler, *Li dis dou vrai aniel*, 1871, v. 104 note, was the first to show that the particular meaning of *cuidier* "*sich einbilden, wännen*" is due to contrasting it with *savoir*.¹ Of this contrast the proverb has availed itself in different ways. After Tobler, and not remembering his note, P. Meyer, *Romania* XV, p. 299; XXVIII, p. 261, and Jeanroy, *Annales du Midi* XV, p. 214; *Romania* XXXIV, p. 518, pointed out French, resp. Provençal proverbs opposing the two verbs.

Of the French forms the two following interest me here:

1. Robert de Gretham,² *Le Miroir ou les evangiles des domées* 26 (*Romania* XV, p. 299) *E l'em dit en prover pur veir Qe quider n'est pas saveir*.

2. Cleomades 1231 (Tobler, l. c.) *Mais entre savoir et cuideance, Sachiez, a moult grant differance*.

The first form is attested for Provençal: Gavaudan, IV, 12, *Romania* XXXIV, p. 514 *cujars lai on no val valors Non es sabers ni sens*.

Both forms appear in Spanish:

1. Alexandre (Janer) 1586 *Mas diz assi el uiesso*:³ *cuidar non es saber*. Sancho, Castigos, p. 173a *é por eso dice la palabra del proverbio: Cuidar non es saber*.⁴ Santillana, p. 518

¹ I may mention here Lucanor (Knust), p. 255, 21 *El que sabe [cuida] que non sabe, el que non sabe cuyda que sabe*. The *Varia Lectio* reads: "[] G[ayangos (Bibl. de Aut. esp.)]; sabe S." A commentary is lacking. Knust was probably not responsible for the text nor for the V. L. nor for the lack of the commentary; for he would have known that Gayangos, p. 428a, omits the whole first part of the saying. Further, he would have remembered his notes to Bocados de oro, p. 130d, and especially Burlaeus, p. 110f where, among other things, he quotes from Caro y Cajudo, p. 48: *Bien sabe el sabio que no sabe, el necio piensa que sabe*. Also without the testimony of Caro it is clear that we have to insert the reading of S: *sabe*.

² c. 1250.

³ To be added to the list of names of the proverb given bei Cornu, *Zweihundert altspanische Sprichwörter*, p. 196 (*Festschrift zum VIII. allgemeinen deutschen Neuphilologentage in Wien, 1898*). Cf. also C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in *Festschrift Adolf Tobler*, 1905, p. 21, note 4.

⁴ This instance and those from Santillana and Berceo have in the meantime been published by Cornu, op. cit., p. 198. Unless otherwise stated, I have my material at first hand. 97]

Penssar non es saver. Refranes glosados,¹ Gallardo IV, c. 1129
Pensar no es saber. Torres Naharro I, p. 381 *el pensar no es saber.*

2. Berceo, Milagros (Janer) 127 *Mas a grant diferençia de saber a cuidar.*

A German "*Wähnen ist nicht wissen*" which lies so near, does not seem to occur. I find only Trutz Simplex [1670], p. 145 (Wander V, p. 304, no. 396) *Wissen und Meinen ist zweyerley*, with which may be compared Maurice de Sully, Dialogue du pere et du fils (Romania XXVIII, p. 260) *Biau fiz . . . il te couvient tout avant savoir que est croire et qu'est cuidiers et qu'est savoirs; et sont .iij. choses.*

2. *Mulier prefertur viro*

P. Meyer, Romania VI, p. 501, has printed from a MS of the University of Cambridge (from the beginning of the fourteenth century) a résumé of theological arguments in favor of woman over against man:

Mulier prefertur viro, scilicet:

- [I] *Materia*: Quia Adam factus de limo terre, Eva de costa Ade.
- [II] *Loco*: Quia Adam factus extra paradisum, Eva in paradiso.
- [III] *In conceptione*: Quia mulier concepit Deum, quod homo non potuit.
- [IV] *Apparicione*: Quia Christus primo apparuit mulieri post resurrectionem, scilicet Magdalene.
- [V] *Exaltacione*: Quia mulier exaltata est super choros angelorum, scilicet beata Maria.

French parallels have been indicated by P. Meyer, Romania VI, p. 501 (from Robert de Blois, *L'onneur as dames*—to II, III; [for a parallel to IV, see Ulrich's ed., III, p. 15, vss. 445 ff.]), XV, p. 321 (from *La bounté des femmes*—to I, III); further by Piaget, *Martin Le Franc*, 1888, p. 49 (from Jean Le Fèvre, *Le livre de leesce*—to I; [for parallels to II, III, see van Hamel's ed., vss. 1214 ff.]), p. 64 (from Christine de Pisan, *L'epistre au dieu d'amours*—to I; [for a parallel to II, see Roy's ed., vss. 604 ff.]), p. 107 (from *Le Franc*, *Le livre du champion des dames*—to ? [Piaget merely states: "On retrouve en partie ces arguments—là développés dans le *Champion des Dames*;" on p. 109 he refers to a parallel to I]).

¹c. 1500.

P. Meyer, Romania XV, p. 321, has also pointed out two Provençal parallels (from the Comtessa de Dia¹—to I, and from Serveri de Gerona—to I).

A South Italian parallel has been adduced by Risop, Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Volkskunde XIII, p. 250 (from Loyse de Rosa—to I).

A Latin parallel has been referred to by van Hamel, op. cit., p. 242 (from Ambrosius, De paradiso—to II).

To these parallels I would add the following:

Absalon, abbas Sprinckirsbacensis,² Sermones festuales (Migne CCXI, c. 18) *Certe mulier in paradiso facta est, vir extra paradisum.*

Antonio Pucci [?], Il Propugnatore III, 1, p. 49:

Non so vedere per che cagione i filosafi e gli altri uomini si dilettono di spregiare tanto le fenmine, concio sia cosa che 'l Singniore del cielo e della terra degnò di venire in lei.

Ancora, dopo la sua passione, per la sua resurrezzione, apparì prima a lei che a l' uomo.

Ancora veggiamo apertamente che nella creazione ella fu fatta di più nobile cosa che l' uomo: però che l' uomo fu fatto di fango e la fenmina della costa dell' uomo; e poi fu fatta in più nobile luogo; però che Adamo, come detto è, in Ebrom,³ Eva fue fatta nel Paradiso terrestre.

Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara, Triunfo de las donas (Paz y Mélia), pp. 89 ff.:

La segunda razon (sc. dela excelencia delas dones (!) sobre los onbres) es por quanto dentro del parayso, en compaña delos angeles formada, e non el onbre, que fue con las bestias enel campo damasçeno,⁴ fuera del parayso, criado

La tercera, por auer seydo formada de carne purificada, e non del vapor dela tierra, dela qual el onbre e los otros animales fueron criados

La tricesima segunda razon es, por quanto ala muger, porque lo mas amó, segund Ambrosio lo dize en la Omelia,⁵ e como touo firme esperança, primera mente por excelencia que a ningund onbre, resuscitando, apparescio.

Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, Recopilacion II, pp. 7 ff. (dialogue between the shepherd and his wife):

¹ The quotation is in Latin. For its proper interpretation, see Piaget, op. cit., p. 165.

² 1203, Gröber, p. 197.

³ Cf. Graf, Miti I, p. 46.

⁴ For the *ager damascenus* as the place where Adam was created, see Liebrecht to Ger-vasius von Tilbury, p. 53; Skeat to Chaucer, The Monkes Tale, 17 (Oxford, 1880, p. 175). Two more Spanish instances of the belief are Autos (Rouanet) II, pp. 180, 385; 217, 22.

⁵ I have been unable to verify this reference.

ELLA. Ora, escucha ya, malsin,
Y verás cuán presto pruebo
Las ventajas que te llevo,
Aunque¹ sé poco latin.
Al principio fué criado
El hombre de tierra astrosa;
La mujer, de mejor cosa,
Del hombre vivo y formado;
Él hué de barro tomado,
Cosa muerta y ensensibre;
Ella, de carne apacibre,
De la costilla del lado.
¡Ves probada mi intencion
Del principio y principado?
Y al medio Dios hué encarnado
De mujer, no de varon

ÉL. . . . Y por alzar lo caído
Quiso ensalzar la mujer.

ELLA. Tan alta y tan ensalzada,
Anque mas pese á roines,
Que sobre los serafines
En el cielo está asentada
Por señora y abogada,
Por luz y guía y estrella.²

Juan de Espinosa, Dialogo en lavde de las mvgeres (Sharbi, Refranero II, pp. 124, 128):

[la muger] fue criada enel Paraiso terrestre y el hombre fuera del Paraiso

la muger es notablemente mas noble, hauiendo el sido formado de tierra y ella del hombre.

¹ *Aon* is found as early as the Testo castellano del concilio de Leon (año de 1020) (from a copy of a MS s. XIII in Muñoz y Romero), pp. 74 *Mandamos á on que* . . . 78 item.

Aon id rime occurs in Torres Naharro I, pp. 253, 367, 428; II, pp. 290, 292.

Later in the quotation we have *unque*, which is frequently met with in the Cancionero d'Herberay; Torres Naharro; Diego Sanchez; Santa Teresa; Ramón de la Cruz; Marín; the Cancionero panocho; Caveda, Poesías selectas en dialecto asturiano²; Fernandez y Morales, Ensayos poéticos en dialecto berciano.

As *dun* (*don*) > *an*, so *aón* > *on*. Cf. for *on*, Juan del Encina, pp. 230, 231, 233, 235, 248; *onque* 229, 236, 246.

² The quotation is from the Farsa del matrimonio. I beg here to correct two statements of Creizenach III, pp. 119 and 159. That on p. 119 according to which the Farsa del molinero of Diego Sanchez was published anonymously 1530, is a slip of the pen for Farsa del matrimonio. Cf. p. 126. Worse is that on p. 159: the edition of the Farsa del matrimonio of 1530 and reprinted by Gallardo I, cc. 929 ff., is dated 1542 and treated as a work different from that of Diego Sanchez.

To anyone having access to more works on Adam and Eve, and in praise of women, than I have, it will be easy to increase the number of these instances.

3. Riddle Questions

Among other versions of the "*Drei (Vier) Fragen*," Reinhold Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften* I, p. 492, cites those of the Orlandino (1527) of Teofilo Folengo, from which I excerpt:

Cerco saper da voi, quanto è vicino
Il Ciel da terra in ogni regione,
.....
Oltra di questo, dite giustamente,
Quanto è dall' Oriente all' Occidente.

The answers are:

Oggi voi mi faceste il primo assalto,
Ch'io narri quanto il Ciel da terra dista,
Presto rispondo, che gli è solo un salto,
Provandol senza il probo del Scotista:
.....
Perchè dall' Oriente all' Occidente
Una giornata fa, se'l Sol non mente.

In the "Adicion del Diálogo" (1517) of Torres Naharro II, p. 378, Patrispano and Herrando exchange, among other questions and answers, the following:

PA. Di, pariente,
Desde levante á poniente,
¿Cuánto habrá de cierta via?
HE. Una jornada valiente
Que la anda el sol cada dia.
PA. Poco yerra;
Pero, pues que en ti se encierra
Un saber así tan alto,
¿Cuánto hay del cielo á la tierra?
HE. Á la fé no hay más de un salto.

The first question and answer of the Orlandino are found elsewhere, cf. e. g. Child, No. 45; the rime-word *salto* here and in the corresponding version of Torres Naharro may be accidental, but receives some weight from the fact that the only parallel to the second question, known to me, is that from Torres Naharro. Has Folengo been influenced by Torres Naharro?

4. *HOMO im Menschenangesicht*

Well known is Dante, *Purg.* XXIII, 32:

Chi nel viso degli uomini legge omo,
Ben avria quivi conosciuto l' emme.

Köhler II, p. 12, quotes another instance of this belief from Berthold von Regensburg, Bolte, *ibid.*, one from Grillparzer. Here follows a Spanish one:

Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, *Recopilacion I*, p. 321:

Y de Dios ¿no sabeis vos
Lo que diz el nuestro cura?
Que su nombre y escretura
Puso en la cara de nos.
¿Veis? o: o: los ojos dos.
¿Veis la m en la nariz?
O, m—o—homo, hombre diz,
D—o—de—i—dei—de Dios.

5. *Die Ungleichheit der menschlichen Gesichter*

That the dissimilarity of human faces was considered one of the greatest miracles of God is attested by many instances, cf. Köhler II, p. 13, who gives among others, three Spanish instances (from Lucanor, the *Libro de los exemplos* and F. Caballero, *Cuentos populares*). The following may nevertheless be welcome:

Aucto de un milagro de sancto Andres 287 (*Rouanet I*, p. 477):

PAJE. Que milagro es el mayor
que en todo el genero humano
a hecho Dios de su mano
en la cosa mas menor?¹

S. ANDRES. Di qu'es la diversidad
de caras que erio Dios,
que en tanta universidad
de propia conformidad
no ay tan solamente dos.

¹Cf. S. Orosia (Fernández-Guerra) 444 *el mas menor de su grey*. Diego Sanchez I, p. 363 *contra las más mejores* (sc. bondades). Autos (*Rouanet I*, pp. 141, 137 *es mas peor*. 491, 262 *muy muchas mas mayores* (sc. cosas). II, p. 361, 164 *comi las mas mejores* (sc. migas). Quatorze romances judéo-espagnols, *Rev. hisp.* X, p. 605 *la mula la mas mejor*. D. Quixote II, chap. 52 *no las* (sc. las vellotas) *hallé mas mayores*. For earlier examples see Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.* III, §47 (*mas primero* also Alexandre 1843, Appoll. 143, Encina, p. 113). Cf. further Kolson, Gairaut von Bornelh, p. 119; Abbott, *A Shakespearian Grammar*, 1881, §11.—Similarly we find the absolute superlative with *muy* or *bien*: Autos I, p. 235, 86 *de muy finisimo oro*. Rubí, *Poesias andaluzas*, p. 31; *tiene usted muy poquissima criansa!*—D. Quixote II, chap. 24 *doy por bien empleadissima la fornada*.

6. *Und wenn der Himmel wär Papier*

In the great number of versions of this formula, collected by Köhler III, p. 293, there is only one in Spanish (from the *Libro de los engannos* = Bonilla's ed., l. 1281). For an instance from Spanish popular poetry, Köhler, p. 306 note, refers to Segarra, *Poesías populares*, Leipzig, 1862, p. 131 (not accessible to me).¹ Bolte, *Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Volkskunde* XII, p. 171, has brought forward three more parallels (from Truebas, *Cuentos campesinos*, from Marin, *Cantos populares españoles*, and one from Venezuela). That from Marin (IV, p. 91, 6241) reads:

Si la mar fuera de tinta
Y el cielo fuera papel,
No se podría escribir
Lo falsa que es la mujer.

Marin possibly got his version from Lafuente, *Cancionero popular* II, 53.² The same form occurs in Murcian:

Diaz Cassou, López Almagro and García López, *El cancionero panocho*, Madrid, 1900, p. 56:

Manque³ la mar juera e tinta
y er cielo juera papel,
faltaría pa escrebir
lo farsa qu'es la mujer.

Lafuente offers besides:

- p. 53 Si la mar fuera de tinta,
Y el cielo de papel doble,
No se pudiera escribir
Lo falsos que son los hombres.
- p. 140 Si la mar fuera de tinta,
Y de papel fuera el cielo,
No te pudiera escribir
Lo mucho que yo te quiero.

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¹ As Segarra is one of the authorities consulted by Lafuente, Köhler's instance may be among those I quote from Lafuente.

² Lafuente reads *pudiera*.

³ Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.* I, §587, treats "andal. *manque* = *masque*" like *manzana*, *nin-guno*, *mancilla*, etc. Schuchardt, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.* V, p. 311, had suggested "Eimischung von *cunque*." Similarly Marin II, p. 187. *Manque* is in fact a contamination of *masque* and *unque*.

SOURCE OF THE PETRONEL-WINIFRED PLOT IN "EASTWARD HOE"

Professor Schelling in his edition of *Eastward Hoe*¹ says: "The seekers after sources find no immediate model for *Eastward Hoe*." He cautions the reader seeking for sources to avoid evident similarities, but in reading further we see he is concerning himself with the plot which involves Quicksilver. True, it is dangerous to trace such a thin story as that of Quicksilver, but the romantic story of the abduction of Security's wife, Winifred, is directly or indirectly drawn from Masuccio, who was one of the school of the early Italian novelists so often resorted to by the Elizabethan dramatists.

In the thirty-fourth and fortieth novels of Masuccio² may be found almost every detail of the romantic part of *Eastward Hoe*. The main plot of this romantic story consists in making the husband the unknowing participator in his own wife's abduction. This is also the main theme of both novels of Masuccio. In the following outline of the Petronel-Winifred story in *Eastward Hoe* eleven or more details are paralleled in the two novels of Masuccio.

In *Eastward Hoe* Sir Petronel forms a plot to carry off Winifred, the young wife of old Security, a jealous and miserly usurer. In Act II, sc. 3, l. 116, Petronel speaks of Winifred as being young. In Act III, sc. 1, l. 13, Security speaks of himself as being "something in years." In Act II, sc. 3, l. 124, Sir Petronel says of Security: "It falls out excellently, fitly: I see desire of gain makes jealousy venturous." In the fortieth novel the wife is young, the husband old and jealous. In the thirty-fourth novel the same situation exists, and the husband is both miserly and jealous.

In the play no emphasis is laid on the winning-over of Winifred by Sir Petronel. This is the case in both novels.

¹ Belles Lettres Series (Boston, 1903).

² The edition of Signor Settembrini (Naples, 1874).

In the play, Security, duped by the false friendship of Sir Petronel, begs him to stand godfather if he has a child, saying, in Act III, sc. 1, ll. 14-17: "I vow faithfully unto you to make you godfather, though in your absence, to the first child I am blessed withal, and henceforth call me gossip, I beseech you, if you please to accept it." In the fortieth novel the husband beseeches the abductor to be gossip, although his wife was then childless.

In Act III, sc. 1, ll. 20-22, Sir Petronel says: "Let me entreat my fair gossip, your wife here, to accept this diamond and keep it as my gift to her first child." In the fortieth novel the abductor says: "I intend on my return that your wife and my dear gossip shall be made glad by the present of a gown of the finest quality which I will give her."

In Act III, sc. 1, ll. 25-29, Security says to his wife: "How now, my coy wedlock; make you strange of so noble a favor? Take it, I charge you, with all affection, and, by way of taking your leave, present boldly your lips to our honorable gossip." In the fortieth novel the husband says to the wife: "Now embrace our dear gossip and give him a loving kiss."

In Act III, sc. 2, ll. 259-96, Sir Petronel invents a by-plot to draw Security from his home in order that the abduction of his wife may take place. The by-plot is this: He tells Security that he wishes to abduct Bramble's wife. Bramble, the lawyer, is Security's neighbor. In order to get Bramble away from his wife, he asks Security to bring his neighbor to the tavern so that they may both take a last farewell of Sir Petronel. In the meantime, Sir Petronel says, he will send his friend Quicksilver to bring Bramble's wife disguised to the tavern, where Security can see her abducted before the old lawyer's face. Security gleefully falls in with this by-plot, by which he himself is gulled. Now, in the fortieth novel the same by-plot occurs. The would-be abductor pretends to the husband that he wishes to carry off a seafaring man's wife. He asks the husband to get the seafaring man away from his wife by hiring him to take them all on board ship in his row-boat. In the meantime, the abductor says, he will send his servant to bring the seafaring man's wife disguised to the seashore, where the husband can see the sailor's wife abducted before

his face. The husband gleefully falls in with this plan, by which he is as easily gulled as Security.

In Act III, sc. 2, ll. 309-12, Sir Petronel sends Quicksilver after Security's wife instead of Bramble's. In the fortieth novel the abductor sends his servant after the husband's wife instead of the seafaring man's.

In the play the abduction is accomplished by means of a ship in the harbor ready to sail for Virginia. In both novels the abduction is also by sea.

In Act III, sc. 3, ll. 153-69, Winifred weeps, and Security comforts her in the following manner:

Pity of all true love, Mistress Bramble; what, weep you to enjoy your love? What's the cause, lady? Is it because your husband is so near, and your heart yearns to have a little abused him? Alas! the offense is too common to be respected. So great a grace hath seldom chanced to so unthankful a woman; to be rid of an old, jealous dotard, to enjoy the arms of a loving, young knight, that when your Bramble is withered with grief of your loss, will make you flourish afresh in the bed of a lady.

In the fortieth novel the husband comforts his disguised wife in the following way:

Ah, you pretty rogue, who makes you weep? Perchance you grieve at the sight here of your husband whom you are leaving; if this be so, you astonish me mightily, seeing you are going to better your lot many a hundred-fold. Let no doubts trouble you; for in lieu of being poor and ill-served, you will become the mistress of great riches. I well know how my good gossip loves you; wherefore be sure that he will make you the mistress of his person and of all his goods; for no men in all the world know so well as Catalans how to love and entertain fair ladies.

The trick of making the duped husband jest at his own expense occurs in *Eastward Hoe* and in the thirty-fourth novel, although in the latter the answer of the husband is exactly the reverse of that in the play. Bramble, in *Eastward Hoe*, says to Security: "But is not that your wife, neighbor?" Security replies: "No, by my troth, Master Bramble. Ha, ha, ha! A pox of all cuckold's-havens, I say!" In the thirty-fourth novel, as the husband is escorting his disguised wife through Bari thinking her someone else, street ruffians ask him whither he is taking the lady. He

replies: "This is my wife, and I am taking her that she may earn somewhat by ensnaring gallants at Taranto."

In the thirty-fourth novel the abductor takes much precaution because he knows that the husband will make a great uproar when he finds his wife gone. Compare the bellowing of Security when he returns and sees he is duped in Act III, sc. 4.

Surely, the fact that the mainspring of the plot of *Eastward Hoe* and at least eleven details find parallels in Masuccio should persuade one to think this old Italian novelist either the direct or the indirect source of the play. The next editor of the play will have an interesting problem in determining whether Jonson, Chapman, or Marston used Masuccio.

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HERDER'S "URSPRUNG DER SPRACHE"

In 1769 the Berlin Academy gave out as the subject of a competitive prize essay the following, couched, as was customary, in French: "En supposant les hommes abandonnés à leurs facultés naturelles, sont ils en état d'inventer le langage? et par quels moyens parviendront-ils d'eux-mêmes à cette invention?" There are two points in the wording of this theme which are interesting and characteristic of the time. In the first place, it will be noticed that the pivot of the discussion was to be this: whether language was of natural—i. e., human—or supernatural origin. It could by no means be taken for granted then, as normal investigators would nowadays, that the gift of speech was acquired by man in a purely normal way; the burden of proof, in fact, lay upon those who disputed the divine origin of language. In the second place, the query of the academy speaks of language as an "invention." Just as a machine is a tool, a means for bringing about certain desired mechanical effects, so language was looked upon as a tool, a means for bringing about certain other desired mechanical effects—namely: the communication of ideas by means of audible, secondarily by means of visible, symbols. And since history and experience showed, or seemed to show, that machines were "invented" by the application of certain powers of intelligence, the logic of parallelism seemed to require that also that most admirable tool called language should have been the "invention" of some intelligence. The only question, then, was this: Was the human mind intelligent and resourceful enough to invent so fine a machine, or did the latter require the master-hand of the Deity? *Voilà tout.*

The attitude of a modern linguist toward the proposed subject is certainly very different from that of the eighteenth-century philosopher. To the first half of the question he would unhesitatingly answer "Yes;" to the second he would reply: "Language was not invented in any true sense at all;" or, as Topsy would

put it: "It wasn't born, it grewed." It is in these two points, after all, that the chief progress from the older to the modern view of the question lies; and for both of them, the doing away with the conception of divine interference, and the introduction of the idea of slow, but gradual and necessary, development from rude beginnings, we are very largely indebted to Herder. The very answer that Herder gave to the question posed made the question itself meaningless; henceforth there could be no serious and profitable discussion of the divine origin of language, while the crude conception of the "invention" of a language had to give way more and more to that of the unconscious, or, as we should perhaps say now, largely subconscious, development of speech by virtue of man's psychic powers. The question resolved itself into another: Just what factor or factors were most prominent in that exceedingly slow process of mental evolution that transformed a being giving vent to his emotions in inarticulate cries to one giving expression to a rich mental life by an elaborate system of auditory symbols? Despite the vast accumulation of linguistic material that has been collected since Herder's time, and the immense clarification that has been attained in linguistic conceptions, processes, and classifications, we cannot today make bold to assert that this problem is satisfactorily answered, or apparently in a way to be satisfactorily answered in the immediate future. Bearing this in mind, we shall be able more justly to value the great service Herder accomplished in merely shifting the point of view. That alone was an inestimable service.

It was to be expected that the proposed subject should appeal strongly to a mind of Herder's stamp, occupied, as it was, with problems touching the most important phases of human culture. We thus find him, while still in Nantes, writing to his publisher-friend Hartknoch that he was intending to work up the theme the following year. He speaks of it as "*eine vortreffliche, grosse und wahrhaftig philosophische Frage, die recht für mich gegeben zu sein scheint.*"¹ The latest time at which the competing essays could be handed in was January 1, 1771; yet Herder did not set to work at the actual composition of his treatise until well on in

¹ R. Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken dargestellt*, Vol. I, pp. 400-403.

December, 1770, when his Strassburg period was drawing to a close. To excuse the peculiar defects of it, he wrote to Nicolai early in 1772 that it was written "flüchtig, in Eile, in den letzten Tagen des Decembers."¹ So rapidly, indeed, was this 166-page² essay composed that it was finished even before Christmas and was sent away anonymously, with accompanying billet, to Tourney, the secretary of the academy. This almost incredible rapidity of composition can be explained only by assuming, as we have every reason to do, that Herder had thought out the whole problem in considerable detail long before, or, as Suphan suggests, even made the first rough draft³ at Nantes, and had now simply to mold these ideas into literary form. Although few would venture to call the *Preisschrift* a model of literary form, yet the distinctness of the theme and the short time in which it had to be got ready give the treatise "a directness and ease that is too often wanting in his other works."⁴ In few other subjects had Herder been so deeply interested up to 1771 as in this one concerning the origin and development of language. As early as 1764, according to Suphan, he had drawn up a plan for the somewhat elaborate investigation of the origin of language, writing, and grammar. One of his contributions to the Riga *Gelehrte Anzeigen* dealt with the problem, "Wie weit alte und neue, fremde und die Muttersprache unsern Fleiss verdienen"—an essay that anticipates some of the striking phrases found in the *Preisschrift*. In his first important work, the famous *Fragmente*, Herder had already given expression to some of his later thoughts, among other things maintaining the human origin of language. When Süssmilch's *Beweis, dass die Sprache göttlich sei*, which had been read at the Berlin Academy ten years before publication, appeared in 1766, Herder was deeply interested, and wrote to Scheffner (October 31, 1767): "Da Süssmilch sich in die Sprachhypothese neulich gemischt und es mit Rousseau gegen Moses [i. e., Moses Mendelssohn] aufgenommen, so hätte ich wohl Lust,

¹ Haym, *op. cit.*

² As contained in Herder's *Collected Works*, edited by Johann von Müller (Carlsruhe, 1820).

³ Distinguished by Suphan as "a." See p. xii, Vol. V, of his edition.

⁴ Nevinson, *Herder and His Times*, p. 162.

auch ein mal ein Paar Worte öffentlich zu sagen."¹ With what had been said on the subject by Rousseau, Condillac, Abbt, Lambert, and others, Herder was well acquainted, so that his own *Preisschrift*, while in every sense a *pathfinding* work, takes a definite historically conditioned place in the linguistic-philosophic speculations of the eighteenth century.

Before proceeding with the detailed analysis of Herder's epoch-making work, we must briefly consider the theories on the origin of language which prevailed at the time he wrote it. By far the most commonly held theory, at least in Germany, was that supported by Süssmilch, the orthodox view. According to this, language was given or revealed to man by God. The power to create the subtle mechanism of speech was considered by the supporters of this theory beyond the earliest human beings; they had to receive the first rude concept of language, the first fruitful suggestions, at least, from without. In earlier stages of linguistic speculation, particularly at the time of the Reformation, it was believed, on inferred biblical evidence, that this earliest God-made language was the Hebrew tongue, from which all other idioms, the Greek and Latin as well as the Chinese, were derived by processes of corruption, transposition of letters, or what not. In Herder's day, however, it was no longer considered necessary by all supporters of the orthodox view to maintain the absolute primitiveness of Hebrew, although Hebrew was regarded, among others by Herder himself, as a peculiarly primitive or "original" language. Many deemed it sufficient to assert the revelation to man of *some* form, however imperfect, of speech, and were willing to concede the possibly somewhat late advent of the Holy Tongue. We can easily understand some of the reasons that led to the support of this, it is needless to say, now wholly antiquated view. In the first place, scriptural evidence, in general, seemed to imply the divine origin of language; although we are told that the Lord brought the various denizens of the field and forest before Adam, that he might give them names, still this appears to have been done under careful paternal supervision. In the second place, there was good, in fact irrefutable, evidence, from an orthodox

¹See Haym, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 402.

point of view, for the divine authorship of the industries; and it seemed illogical to suppose that a much higher factor of civilization than the industries, namely language, had been left to the ingenuity of primitive man. In the third place, the less than six thousand years which had elapsed since the creation of the world were looked upon, and with good reason, as quite inadequate for the development from the crudest possible beginnings of our modern, richly organized languages. Even long after Herder had demonstrated the untenableness of the orthodox theory, many scholars still clung to a view which made God, as Goethe put it, "a kind of omnipotent schoolmaster." I note, by way of illustration, that our Noah Webster still considered it the most probable explanation. From a psychological point of view, granting the possibility of revelation, the theory is, of course, absolutely useless. Its advocates do not seem to have perceived that the imparting of a language to the first speechless human beings, accompanied, as it presumably was, by grammatical instruction, must have been a fairly impossible task, implying, in fact, linguistic training in the recipient; moreover, the theory begged the question, by assuming the existence of what it set out to explain. The modern critical standpoint has been well, if somewhat cynically, formulated by Fritz Mauthner in his entertaining *Kritik der Sprache*:

Wir wissen kaum, was der abstrakte Begriff Sprache bedeutet, wir wissen noch weniger, wie wir den Begriff Ursprung zeitlich begrenzen sollen, wir wissen gar nicht mehr den Gottesbegriff zu definieren; da können wir mit dem "göttlichen Ursprung der Sprache" wirklich nicht mehr viel anfangen.¹

A second theory, supported notably by Rousseau and the German Rationalists, was very similar in character to the contract-theory of the origin of government, also held by Rousseau. They conceived the matter approximately thus: Primitive men, after having long been compelled to get along without speech, at last awoke to a consciousness of the manifold inconveniences of their then condition; were in particular troubled by the important problem of communicating ideas. To remedy, if possible, this

¹Fritz Mauthner, *Kritik der Sprache*, Vol. II, "Zur Sprachwissenschaft," p. 353.

deplorable state of affairs, our primitive ancestors, or perhaps only the wisest of them, put their heads together to devise ways and means for the more practicable interchange of thoughts. After much cogitation—not deliberation, for language was not as yet—they hit upon the excellent device of representing things and actions to each other by means of arbitrarily chosen symbols, presumably auditory. Henceforth they had no difficulty in understanding each other, civilization progressed more rapidly than heretofore, and all was well. One is amazed to find that men in the eighteenth century were willing to maintain so ridiculous a theory, even if not presented in quite so absurd a light as above. It is not difficult to point out the vicious circle implied therein. Man could not conceivably have advanced so far as to perceive the advantages of speech as a means of communication without already being possessed of it; on the other hand, if primitive man could already successfully communicate such abstract ideas as those of symbols, one fails to see the necessity of a change in method.

A far more valuable theory than these two was that held by the English and French “naturalists,” though a crude, mechanistic psychology makes their speculations often seem rather infantile today. The “naturalists,” generally speaking, were inclined to look upon language as a reflex, expressed in cries, of the sensations and perceptions imprinted upon the human mind by man’s environment. They considered the growth of a vocabulary absolutely co-ordinated with the growth of experience, and were pretty sure, most of them, that untaught children, if isolated from the companionship of their fellow-beings, would develop a language of their own. Condillac, probably the most profound of the *philosophes*, attempted in his *Essai sur l’origine des connaissances humaines* to show how two human beings of opposite sex might naturally be led to acquire speech. He supposes that at the outset all their desires and emotions are expressed by purely instinctive cries, accompanied by violent gestures. By the psychic processes of memory and association these cries gradually come to serve as the fixed means of communicating the more elementary feelings, such as fear, joy, and the like. Says Condillac:

Meanwhile, while these human beings have acquired the habit of associating several ideas with arbitrary signs, the natural cries served them as model to make a new language. They articulated new sounds and, repeating them several times and accompanying them by some gesture which indicated the objects they wished to call attention to, they accustomed themselves to giving names to things. At first the progress of this language was extremely slow. The organ of speech was so inflexible that it could articulate only a few very simple sounds. The obstacles that presented themselves in pronouncing others even prevented them from suspecting that the voice was capable of moving beyond the small number of words they had imagined. This pair had a child, who, pressed by wants that he could give expression to only with difficulty, violently moved all the limbs of his body. His very flexible tongue curled itself in an extraordinary manner and pronounced an entirely new word. The want, still continuing, again gave rise to the same effects; this child moved his tongue as before, and again articulated the same sound. The surprised parents, having finally guessed what he wished, attempted, while giving it to him, to repeat the same word. The difficulty they had in pronouncing it made it evident that they would not of themselves have been able to invent it.¹

In such wise Condillac thinks their language would be slowly and painfully enriched; not until after many generations would a language in our sense be approximated. A fairly ingenious theory, and much to be preferred to either the orthodox or the rationalist views, yet not truly convincing. The great difficulty that Herder found with it was the failure to draw a sharp line between the instincts of the animals and the higher mental powers of man. One does not clearly see why, according to Condillac, the animals should not have likewise developed a language. Herder, although he inclined on the whole to the views of the French "naturalists," attempted to avoid their shallow mechanistic psychology, and was chiefly concerned in showing that the peculiarly human faculty of speech was a *necessary correlative* of certain distinctly human psychic conditions.

The analysis of Herder's views here given is based, not on the second edition of the prize essay (Berlin, 1789), but on its first published form (Berlin, 1772), as given in Suphan's edition of Herder. Following the formulation of the academy's theme, he divided his treatise into two parts, the first answering the ques-

¹ *Œuvres de Condillac* (Paris, 1796), Vol. I, pp. 264, 265.

tion: "Haben die Menschen, ihren Naturfähigkeiten überlassen, sich selbst Sprache erfinden können?"¹ the second dealing with the problem: "Auf welchem Wege der Mensch sich am füglichsten hat Sprache erfinden können und müssen?"²

Herder begins his treatise with the postulation of a "natural law." All the higher animals involuntarily respond to their emotions, particularly the more intense ones, such as pain, by cries. As Herder formulates the "law": "Here is a sentient being, unable to inclose within itself any of its intense feelings; which, in the first moment of surprise, must give expression in sound to every feeling, even without intention and purpose."³ But this sentient being is not an isolated phenomenon. There are other beings, besides itself, similarly constituted, that respond to like stimuli in the same way. Hence the instinctive cries of each sentient being find a responsive echo in other beings of like organization, very much as a vibrating string will cause other strings to vibrate that are pitched in harmony to itself. These tones constitute a species of language, "a language of feeling" directly given by nature (*unmittelbares Naturgesetz*); its genesis it does not occur to Herder to explain. Such natural cries are not peculiar to the animals, but are shared also by man. No matter how highly developed a language may be, it always includes a number of vocables that are intelligible *per se* as emotional expressions. These are represented on paper—with miserable inadequacy, as Herder strongly emphasizes—by the interjections (such as *ach*, *O*, and so forth); their real existence, however, is in their utterance in the appropriate emotional milieu. It is true that in our modern, metaphysically refined idioms, these emotional elements play a very subordinate rôle, but in the older oriental and in the primitive tongues Herder thinks to find more numerous survivals of the earliest linguistic conditions. It may be noted that all through the essay Herder, quite uncritically from our modern point of view, considers the oriental, by which he means one or two Semitic, dialects and the languages of primi-

¹ *Herder's Sämmtliche Werke*, herausgegeben von Bernhard Suphan (Berlin, 1891), Vol. V, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

tive peoples as essentially more "original" than our modern vernaculars. We should never forget that Herder's time-perspective was necessarily very different from ours. While we unconcernedly take tens and even hundreds of thousands of years in which to allow the products of human civilization to develop, Herder was still compelled to operate with the less than six thousand years that orthodoxy stingily doled out. To us the two or three thousand years that separate our languages from the Old Testament Hebrew seems a negligible quantity, when speculating on the origin of language in general; to Herder, however, the Hebrew and the Greek of Homer seemed to be appreciably nearer the oldest conditions than our vernaculars—hence his exaggeration of their *Ursprünglichkeit*. The supposedly "primitive," or rather "original," character of the languages of savages was due to a very natural, though, unfortunately, on the whole erroneous, conclusion from *à priori* considerations.

Herder next proceeds to take up and refute one of Süssmilch's arguments for believing that language is God's direct work. Süssmilch contended that it was evident in the alphabetic uniformity of all languages, pointing to an original divine simplicity; all the sounds found in the multiform idioms of the earth, he thought, could be adequately represented by about twenty letters. This queer argument Herder conclusively showed to be a mere orthographic quibble. It is a huge fallacy, as Herder clearly saw, to imagine that even *one* language could be perfectly represented by an alphabet at all, let alone one of twenty letters. He recognizes, apparently as clearly as any modern linguist, that the real elements of language are spoken sounds of which letters are but makeshift and imperfect substitutions. He quotes from travelers as to the extreme difficulty of representing many of the dialects of primitive peoples through the medium of our letters; but he calls attention also to the very faint idea that one gets of even spoken English and French from the written forms of those languages. That a comparatively "original" language (I speak in Herder's terms) like the Hebrew did not orthographically represent the vowels is due, he thinks, to their finely modulated, natural, almost unarticulated character. "Ihre Aussprache war so

lebendig und feinorganisiert, ihr Hauch war so geistig und athemisch, dass er verduftete und sich nicht in Buchstaben fassen liess."¹ Hence he concludes that the nearer a language comes to the original conditions, the less possible to mirror it in orthographical symbols.

After this digression on the Süssmilch argument, Herder returns to a consideration of the natural emotional sounds of man and the animals: he emphasizes the great influence that these still have emotionally, and sees in them the closest bond of union between the various members of animated creation. "Their origin," Herder declares, "I consider very natural. It is not only not superhuman, but evidently beastlike (*thierisch*), the natural law of a machine capable of feeling."² But—and here comes a critical point in Herder's argument—it is impossible to explain the origin of human language from these emotional cries.

All animals, down to the dumb fish, give vent to their feelings in tones; but no animal, not even the most perfect, has on that account the slightest genuine disposition toward a human language. Let one form and refine and fix this natural cry as one will; if no understanding is present, so as purposely to use the tone, I fail to see how human, conscious language is ever going to arise. Children utter emotional sounds, like animals: is not the language, however, that they learn from men quite another idiom?³

All writers, notably Condillac and Maupertuis among the French *philosophes*, and Diodorus and Vitruvius among the ancients, that have attempted to derive human speech from instinctive animal cries, are, then, on the wrong path at the very outset of their investigations. Since, among all living beings, man alone has developed a language, in the ordinary sense of the word, and since it is, after all, this power of speech which chiefly separates man from the animals, any rational attempt to explain its origin would have to begin with a consideration of the essential psychic differences between the two. Herder, consequently, proceeds to seek for the most fundamental of these psychic differences, and finds it in this, "that man is far inferior to the animals in strength and sureness of *instinct*; indeed, that he lacks

¹ Herder, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

entirely what in so many animal species we term inborn art-capabilities or impulses (*Kunsthigkeiten und Kunsttriebe*).¹ This inferiority in instinctive power Herder ascribes to a greater sphere of attention and activity on the part of man. Herder finds by observation "that the sharper the senses of the animals, and the more wonderful their works of art, the narrower their sphere, the more uniform their art-work;"² and inversely, "the more scattered their attention to various objects, the more undefined their mode of life, in short, the larger and more manifold their sphere, the more do we see their sense-powers divided and weakened."³ Now all instincts, even such complicated ones as those we see manifested in the construction of beehives and spider-webs, are to be explained by the intense, specialized activities of the senses within a narrow sphere. Hence Herder feels justified in assuming that intensity of the senses and perfection of instinct are in inverse proportion to the amplitude of the sphere of attention. Since man has the widest possible sphere, is the least specialized of all creatures in his activity, it follows that he is least endowed with inborn mechanical dispositions; in other words, is at birth apparently the most helpless of all living beings. It is inconceivable, however, that nature should have acted in so stepmotherly a fashion as to intend man for the widest field of activity, and at the same time fail to grant him powers successfully to maintain himself in his complex environment. There must be some psychic element which secures him his due position in the world; if we succeed in discovering this psychic element, we shall also have obtained the distinctive characteristic of man; and if, furthermore, we can show the human faculty of speech to be a resultant of this mental characteristic, our problem is practically solved. The peculiarly human characteristic sought is conditioned by the wide range of attention; for this latter implies that the human senses, unrestricted to any narrowly specialized field, are left free for development and the acquisition of *clearer* impressions. Now, this clearness of view leads to what is variously termed understanding, reason, judgment. Herder, who is alone to be held responsible for the psychology of all this,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.² *Ibid.*, p. 22.³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

is indifferent about the name applied (he himself suggests *Besonnenheit*, "reflection"); he very strongly emphasizes, however, that this *Besonnenheit* is not a faculty superimposed upon the lower animal mind-elements and transforming them into the human mind, but rather a certain disposition or aspect of the really unanalyzable unity called the "mind." It is truly refreshing to find Herder, in the age of neatly pigeon-holed faculties, boldly asserting these to be but more or less convenient abstractions; to Herder the human "mind" is an indivisible entity, in no wise genetically related to the animal mind. As he expresses it: "Der Unterschied (zwischen der menschlichen und der tierischen Seele) ist nicht in Stufen, oder Zugabe von Kräften, sondern in einer ganz verschiedenartigen Richtung und Auswicklung aller Kräfte."¹ Furthermore, *Besonnenheit* must have been present in the human race from the very start, must have been implanted in it by the Creator; although this, of course, does not mean that it is not capable of growth with the increase of experience. Any attempt, then, to bridge over the gulf separating man and the animal world is to Herder absurd.

Does not reflection or *Besonnenheit*, however, imply the invention—or, better, genesis—of language? Herder proceeds:

[Der Mensch] beweiset Reflexion, wenn er aus dem ganzen schwebenden Traum der Bilder, die seine Seele vorbeistreichen, sich in ein Moment des Wachens sammeln, auf einem Bilde freiwillig verweilen, es in helle ruhigere Obacht nehmen, und sich Merkmale absondern kann, dass dies der Gegenstand und kein anderer sei. Er beweiset auch Reflexion, wenn er nicht bloss alle Eigenschaften lebhaft oder klar erkennen; sondern eine oder mehrere als unterscheidende Eigenschaften bei sich anerkennen kann; der erste Aktus dieser Anerkenntniss² giebt deutlichen Begriff; est ist das erste Urtheil der Seele.³

Further, the singling out and apperception of any attribute, the formation of a clear concept, is in itself, in the true sense of the word, language, even though it be not uttered; for language can very well be defined as series of associated attributes or concepts, symbolically interpreted. For the purpose of illustration, Herder

¹ Herder, *op. cit.* p. 29.

² By *Anerkenntniss* Herder means about as much as "apperception."

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

supposes a sheep to pass by primitive man.¹ The latter, with mind unobscured by the wolfish instinct to tear the sheep to pieces, will, by virtue of his power of *Besonnenheit*, quietly perceive the white, wooly phenomenon. Suddenly the sheep bleats; involuntarily primitive man picks out this remarkable sound as the characteristic attribute in the complex of sensations presented to him by the sheep. The sheep crosses his path once again. Primitive man, not yet fully practiced in the apperception of objects, does not at first recognize his wooly friend. But the sheep again bleats, whereupon he remembers the similar sound heard before; the characteristic attribute then, in this case the bleating, serves to establish the identity of the two sensation-groups. Ever thereafter the remembered audible image of bleating will associate itself with the totality of images, visual, tactile, and others, that go to make up the phenomenon *sheep*. Does not this mean that the image of bleating becomes the *name* of the object, even though the speech-organs of primitive man never attempt to reproduce the sound? With the acquisition of a number of constant images of apperceived attributes language is now fairly begun, and is shown to be, in Herder's opinion, a necessary corollary of the postulated *Besonnenheit*, peculiar to man.

At this point Herder takes up certain arguments advanced by some to prove the impossibility of the human origin of language. Süssmilch contended that without the use of language no act of reason was possible. Consequently man, in order to reason, must have been in prior possession of the gift of speech. But it is impossible that he should have himself invented it; for reason, not yet in operation, would evidently have been necessary therefor. The only way out of the difficulty, then, is to assume that God first taught man the use of language, by the employment of which the exercise of reason followed. Herder has no difficulty in showing the circle in the argument. If man was to grasp the linguistic instruction of God, and not simply repeat his words in parrot-like manner, he must already have been in possession of an elaborate complex of concepts and, therefore, also of language; for, according to his analysis, the genesis of the two is

¹The illustration was borrowed by Herder from Moses Mendelssohn.

simultaneous. To seek a parallel for divine instruction in the language-teaching of children by their parents is of no avail. The child recognizes most attributes and acquires his store of concepts by his own unaided experience—that is, the real acquisition of language is his own unaided work; all that the parents do is to force him to label his stock of concepts with those arbitrary symbols which they happen to use themselves.

So far Herder has discussed only the singling-out of attributes in general. The question now arises which attributes are most likely to be picked out originally as the first elements of language. The sense of sight, Herder believes, develops at the start with too great difficulty to allow visual attributes to be seized upon as the characteristic ones of objects; moreover, light-phenomena are too "cold" (this is Herder's term) to appeal to primitive man. The lower senses, notably that of touch, on the other hand, receive impressions that are too coarse and undefined for the purposes of speech. It remains, then, for the sense of hearing to give the characteristic attributes and, as Herder expresses it, become *Lehrmeister der Sprache*. Thus the sheep, as we have seen, becomes to man the "bleater;" the dog, the "barker;" the wind, the "rustler;" and so on indefinitely. The abstraction, then, of sound-attributes, coupled with a mechanical and spontaneous imitation of these, forms the first vocabulary of man. The biblical sentence, "Gott führte die Thiere zu ihm, dass er sähe, wie er sie nannte, und wie er sie nennen würde, so sollten sie heissen," Herder chooses to consider a poetical, peculiarly oriental rendition of the soberly expressed philosophic truth: "Der Verstand, durch den der Mensch über die Natur herrschet, war der Vater einer lebendigen Sprache, die er aus Tönen schallender Wesen zu Merkmalen der Unterscheidung sich abzog."¹

If language were the invention of the Creator, we should expect to see his spirit—that is, pure reason—reflected in his work. But such is by no means the case. Pure reason or logic would require us to seek nouns as the most original constituents of the vocabulary of a language; for evidently, in strictly logical reasoning, the subject comes before the predicate, the thing

¹ Herder, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

that acts before the action. As a matter of fact, however, the radical elements of languages are not substantive in character, but verbal; this we can explain, if we bear in mind that primitive man was most impressed by sounding actions (*tönende Handlungen*). Since these actions were manifested in certain objects, it followed that the latter were named by the same natural sounds as the former; thus we have *nouns* developing out of *verbs*, and not vice versa. "The child names the sheep, not as sheep, but as a bleating animal, and thus turns the interjection into a verb."¹ All old and primitive languages clearly show, Herder is very sure, the verbal origin of nouns, and a philosophically arranged dictionary of an oriental language would be "a chart of the course of the human spirit, a history of its development, and . . . the most excellent proof of the creative power of the human soul."² It is somewhat strange to find as keen a mind as Herder's occupying itself with so useless and at bottom meaningless a problem as the priority of the parts of speech. It goes without saying that in the earliest period of language-formation there could not have been the slightest differentiation in word-functioning. Making use of Herder's favorite example, there is no reason to suppose that the remembered audible sensation "bleating" should originally have had more reference to the action of bleating than to the sheep itself. We shall probably be nearer the truth if we assume that the word made in imitation of bleating was employed to signify all that had reference to the remembered phenomenon. The word, which we may assume for the sake of argument to be "baa," might in modern terms signify "to bleat," "sheep," "wooly," or what not; only we must beware of imagining that "baa" had any clearly defined grammatical function. Herder speaks of the sheep as "ein blöckendes Geschöpf;" noting that *blöckend* is a verbal form, he concludes that the verb was the original part of speech.

Nature, Herder proceeds, appears to man as a resounding (*tönend*) whole; hence man infers that nature is animated, living, and personifies all the phenomena presented to his consciousness. By this peculiarly human tendency to vivify the inanimate and

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 52, 53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

relate to his own experience the vast sea of extra-human phenomena can be easily explained the most primitive religions, the grammatical category of sex-gender, which Herder, erroneously of course, seems to imagine is particularly widespread, and, above all, the genesis of poetry. For what was this earliest language, imitating the sounds of living nature and expressing ideas in vivid imagery, but poetry? Furthermore, this language was song, not learned, as Herder well shows, from the birds, but "song, that was as natural to him, as suited to his organs and natural impulses, as the nightingale's song to herself." "All nature sang and resounded, and the song of man was a concert of all these voices; in so far as his understanding needed them, his feeling grasped them, [and] his organs could give expression to them."¹ That the oldest song and poetry are derived from this primeval condition of identity of song and language Herder considers proved; he is inclined to look upon the Homeric poems as survivals from this earliest time; and even today the originally musical character of speech is attested by the accents of many savage idioms.

All of this enthusiastic speculation of Herder's on the singing-speech of primitive man—ideas which he had already developed in the earlier *Fragmente*—must now, of course, be taken with a grain of salt. That song and poetry are among the most natural forms of expression, and are found, inseparably linked, practically all over the world, is now fully recognized. Moreover, we have no difficulty in supposing that the earliest forms of language were more expressive emotionally than now; the human voice may, very possibly, have had a more decided pitch-modulation, have moved at greater musical intervals, than now, and thus have produced much of the effect of song. Even this, however, is mere speculation. But to suppose that the earliest speech was, in any true sense of the word, melodic song, from which the vocal art of the Greeks could be more or less directly derived, is to be considered the wildest and most improbable fancy. As to the finished art-works of Greece being survivals from Herder's hypothetical period of spontaneous poesy, *that* needs no comment here.

It is not difficult to understand how objects that have distinctive

¹ Herder, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

sound-attributes, such as a bleating sheep, can be symbolized by sound images. But how is it with phenomena that do not of themselves suggest suitable audible symbols? How are the impressions of sight and feeling, taste and smell, to be naturally expressed in terms of auditory impressions? Herder seeks the solution of this puzzling question in a psychologic truth, which one is somewhat surprised to see grasped so clearly in the eighteenth century. His remarks are so illuminating that I cannot do better than quote from them:

What are these properties [i. e., of sight, hearing, etc.] in objects? They are merely sensed impressions *in us*, and as such do they not all flow into one another? We are one thinking *sensorium commune*, only affected on various sides—therein lies the explanation. Feeling underlies all senses, and this gives the most disparate sensations, so intimate, strong, indefinable a bond of union, that out of this combination the strangest appearances arise. There is more than one instance known to me of persons who, naturally, perhaps from some impression of childhood, could not do otherwise than directly combine by some rapid mutation [we should say "association" nowadays] this color with that sound with this appearance that entirely different, indefinite feeling, that, when viewed through the light of slow reason, has absolutely no connection therewith: for who can compare sound and color, appearance and feeling?¹

From this now experimentally well-established psychologic law of an ever-present, at times indefinite but always real, undercurrent of feeling, accompanying and coloring the ever-flowing stream of sensation, Herder derives a somewhat nebulously stated corollary, an application of the law to the genesis of language. He declares:

Since all senses, particularly in the condition of man's childhood, are nothing but forms of feeling of *one* mind; and since all feeling, according to an emotional law of animal nature, has directly its own vocal expression; therefore, if this feeling is heightened to the intensity of a characteristic mark (*Merkmal*), the *word* of external language is there.²

Furthermore:

Since man receives the language of nature only by way of hearing, and without it cannot invent language, hearing has, in some manner, become the central one of his senses, the gate, as it were, to the mind, and the bond of union between the other senses.³

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

That the sense of hearing does really occupy so relatively important a place is, of course, at least questionable; but Herder, undismayed by disquieting doubts, proceeds to give six reasons for thinking so. First, hearing occupies a medial position among the senses in regard to range of impressiveness (*Sphäre der Empfindbarkeit*); being richer than the tactile, and less overwhelming and distracting than the optic, sense. Thus it stands in the closest connection of any with the other senses, and is well adapted to serve as a transformer into linguistically usable images of the impressions conveyed through the medium of sight and touch. Secondly, hearing is a middle sense in the matter of clearness; the sense of touch gives too dull, undefined impressions, while the impressions of sight are too bright and manifold. Hearing effectively heightens the former, modifies the latter. Thirdly, hearing occupies a middle position as regards vividness (*Lebhaftigkeit*); feeling is too warm a sense, lodges itself too deeply and overpoweringly in one's consciousness, while visual impressions are too cold and leave one indifferent. The auditory sense is, then, for the whole mind, what the color green, as it were, is for the visual sense—neither too dull nor too intense. Fourthly, hearing is the middle sense in respect to the time in which it operates; tactile impressions are sudden and momentary; those of sight, on the other hand, confuse by their simultaneity. As opposed to these, auditory impressions generally take place in progression—not very much is offered at any one moment, but the flow of auditory sensation is fairly continuous. Fifthly, the images induced by the sense of hearing need outward expression. Impressions produced by feeling are too dark and self-centered to need such expression; the objects revealed by the sense of sight are generally permanent and can be indicated by gesture; “but the objects that appeal to hearing” Herder says, “are connected with motion: they slip by; but just on that account they give rise to sounds. They are capable of expression because they must be expressed, and because they must be expressed, because of their motion, they become capable of expression.”¹ This quotation is a fair specimen of Herder's method of ratiocina-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

tion at times. Sixthly and finally, hearing is the middle sense in point of order of development, feeling coming before and sight after. Thus Herder proves, apparently to his own entire satisfaction, that all the impressions of sense become capable of adequate linguistic expression by way of their close connection with the supposedly middle sense—that of hearing. Let us not bother with an unprofitable critique of Herder's antiquated and subjectively confused psychology, and consider it proved, for the sake of his argument, that all intense outward stimuli, no matter of what description, find their natural response in vocal expression.

Herder next proceeds to lay down a series of theses on the characteristics of "original" (*ursprünglichen*) languages, the purpose of which is to show how clearly the imprint of the human mind is visible in them. This to us is very axiomatic, but we should not forget that it was necessary for Herder to demonstrate it in order to disprove the orthodox theory of divine origin. The first of these *Sätze* reads: "The older and more original languages are, the more is this analogy of the senses noticeable in their roots."¹ Where we characterize in terms of sight or feeling, the oriental often prefers to have recourse to the sense of hearing. "Anger," for instance, is most commonly in later times thought of in terms of visual phenomena, such as blazing eyes and glowing cheeks; the oriental, however, finds its characteristic mark in the fierce snort of the nostrils.² Again, "life" is to most of us moderns best characterized by the pulse-beat, while the oriental *hears* in the living breath the most salient element of animated existence. And so on indefinitely.

Herder's second thesis reads: "The older and more original languages are, the more do the various shades of feeling cross each other in the roots of the words."³ He proceeds:

Let one open any oriental lexicon at random, and one will perceive the struggling desire to express ideas! How the inventor tore out ideas from one feeling and borrowed them for another! How he borrowed most of all from the most difficult, coldest, clearest senses! How every-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

² Herder had in mind probably Heb. 'aph "anger", dual 'appayim "nostrils."

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

thing had to be transformed into feeling and sound, in order to gain expression! Hence the strong, bold metaphors in the roots of words! Hence the extensions from feeling to feeling, so that the meanings of stem-words and, still more so, those of their derivatives, when put next to each other, present the most motley picture. The genetic cause lies in the poverty of the human mind and in the flowing together of the emotions of a primitive human being.¹

The whole discussion of the metaphorical character of "original" languages is one of those wonderfully intuitive bits of insight that one meets with frequently enough in Herder's writings. He saw clearly the perfectly natural, and, indeed, psychologically inevitable, play of metaphor that runs through the history of language. This was remarkable at a time when figures of speech were thought to be the artistic flowers of polite literature. The modern semasiologist can, however, be bolder than Herder. He recognizes clearly that metaphor operates with equal power at all periods in the development of a language, not chiefly in the relatively older phases, as Herder thought, but just as well in times nearer the present. Moreover, he is inclined to believe that not merely a large part of the vocabulary of a language is metaphorically transferred in meaning, but that practically all of it has undergone an indefinite number of gradual semantic transmutations.

Herder's third thesis is as follows:

The more original a language is, the more frequently do such feelings cross in it; the less easily can these be exactly and logically subordinated to one another. The language is rich in synonyms; alongside of real poverty it has the most unnecessary superfluity.²

How can so ill-arranged a mass of material be the work of God? As coming from the hand of man, however, the presence of synonyms is entirely explicable. Herder argues:

The less acquainted one was with natural phenomena; the more aspects one could in inexperience observe therefrom and hardly recognize; the less one invented *à priori*, but rather according to circumstances of sense: the more synonyms.³

This great wealth of synonyms is seen not only in the proverbial two hundred words of the Arab for "snake" and about one

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

thousand for "sword," but also in most languages of primitive tribes. Herder points out that the latter, although often lacking terms for ideas which seem to us most necessary of expression, frequently possess an astonishing wealth of words for ideas but slightly differentiated in our own minds.

As fourth canon Herder enunciates the following:

Just as the human mind can recall no abstraction out of the realm of spirits which it did not obtain by means of opportunities and awakenings of the senses, so also our language contains no abstract word which it has not obtained by means of tone and feeling. And the more original the language, the fewer abstractions, the more feelings.¹

That all abstract ideas are originally expressed in terms of concrete images is almost self-evident, and Herder has, indeed, little difficulty in proving his point. Again he has recourse for his illustrations to the language of the Orient and of primitive peoples. "Holy" was, for instance, originally "set apart" in meaning; "soul" meant really "breath." Missionaries and travelers unanimously testify to the great difficulty of rendering abstract terms in the idioms of comparatively uncultured peoples; the history of civilization shows that many of the terms used in philosophy and other regions of abstract thought are simply borrowed from the vocabularies of nations already farther advanced in speculation. All this, Herder rightly emphasizes, points to the operation of purely human powers; no terms are found for abstractions not absolutely necessary to the thought of the people who use them, while in every case such terms are originally of purely sensational origin. Surely there can be no talk here of divine intervention, where only human weakness is manifest.

Herder's fifth and last thesis runs:

Since every grammar is only a philosophy of language and a method of its use, it follows that the more original the language, the less grammar there must be in it, and the oldest [language] is simply the vocabulary of nature.²

Herder devotes several pages to a consideration of this matter, but his whole treatment seems now confused and antiquated. One acquainted with the elaborate formal machinery, particularly in

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 83.

regard to the verb, of the Semitic and of many North American Indian languages, both of which Herder considered particularly "original" in character, will be inclined to deny point-blank the validity of his thesis. Herder, however, is not blind to this grammatical complexity. On the contrary, he asserts, paradoxically enough, that this very complexity is a sign of the lack of a true grammatical sense. He thinks that those languages that make use of complicated grammatical schemes show thereby their inability to arrange their material systematically and logically; the Germans or French, for instance, he implies, with fewer paradigms, have more of a grammar in the true sense of the word. Speaking more particularly of verb-forms, he says:

The more conjugations [are found], the less thoroughly one has learned to systematize concepts relatively to each other. How many the orientals have! and yet they are not such in reality, for what transplantations and transferences of the verbs are there not from conjugation to conjugation! The matter is quite natural. Since nothing concerns man so much, at least appears to him so linguistically suitable, as that which he is to narrate: deeds, actions, events; therefore, such a multitude of deeds and events must originally have been gathered that a new verb arose for almost every condition.¹

Herder's arguments do not, it is almost needless to observe, bear inspection. Herder thought of grammar, as was very natural in the eighteenth century, as something which was, with increasing civilization, brought to bear on language from without. With this conception in his mind, it seemed that to admit the existence of complex grammatical form in "original" languages was playing into the hands of Süssmilch. Today, however, owing to the vast stock of comparative and historic linguistic material at our disposal, we see clearly that grammar, so far from needing the loving attention of the grammarians, takes very good care of itself and develops along definite lines. We need not, therefore, deal in paradoxes and can admit, with a clear conscience, that many typically "original" languages, to adopt Herder's now unserviceable terminology, possess *truly* grammatical features of incredible complexity, as in the case of the Eskimo verb or Bantu noun.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

Herder ends the first part of his prize essay with a paragraph which contains the following statement:

Ich bilde mir ein, das Können der Empfindung menschlicher Sprache sei mit dem, was ich gesagt . . . so bewiesen, dass wer dem Menschen nicht Vernunft abspricht, oder, was eben so viel ist, wer nur weiss, was Vernunft ist: wer sich ferner je um die Elemente der Sprache philosophisch bekümmert, . . . der kann nicht einen Augenblick zweifeln, wenn ich auch weiter kein Wort mehr hinzusetze.¹

And, indeed, Herder might have logically concluded the essay at this point, though we should not like to miss some of the thoughts in the second part. The form of the question as put by the academy, seemed, however, to Herder to demand an arrangement of his subject-matter into two distinct parts. Inasmuch as both of the queries posed are practically answered by Herder in the first part, we need not analyse in detail the trend of his argument in the second, which ostensibly discusses "auf welchem Wege der Mensch sich am füglichsten hat Sprache erfinden können und müssen," but which, in reality, deals chiefly with the gradual development of language. It is itself subdivided into four sections, each of these discussing a natural law operative in this development.

The first of these *Naturgesetze*, which Herder takes so seriously as to put in the imperative form, reads: "Man is a freely thinking, active being, whose powers work on progressively; therefore he shall be a creature of language (*Geschöpf der Sprache*)."² As the wording of this law implies, Herder here recapitulates, with amplifications, a good deal of what he had already presented in the first part. But there is a new thought introduced here—that of development in the line of progress. The gift of speech is, it is true, as characteristic of man as the ability to construct a hive is native to the bee—with this notable difference: the bee, acting mechanically by virtue of its inborn instinctive powers, builds as efficiently the first day as the last, and will build so, Herder believes, to the end of time; the language of man, however, increases in power and efficiency with every use that is made of it. The reason for this law of linguistic growth in the individual is evident when we consider the relation

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

between thought and language. "There is no condition of the human mind," Herder says, "which is not capable of linguistic expression or not really determined by words of the mind (*Worte der Seele*)."¹ Hence growth in the power of reflexion or *Besonnenheit*, conditioned by the growth of experience, entails also advance in the employment of language. "The growth of language," as Herder puts it, "is as natural to man as his nature itself."² Süssmilch had objected to the idea of a human development of language on the ground that such a proceeding would have required the thought of a philosophically trained mind, such as it would be utterly absurd to imagine primitive man to have been in possession of. Herder points out the shallowness of his argument in very emphatic terms—an argument that, lacking absolutely all sense of historical perspective, would picture primitive man as placed in the same environment and governed by the same conventions as prevailed in the pseudo-philosophical atmosphere of the eighteenth century. Herder gives a most excellent characterization of the spirit of his time in a few sentences which express his profound dissatisfaction with it:

Es ist für mich unbegreiflich, wie man sich so tief in die Schatten, in die dunklen Werkstätten des Kunstmässigen verlieren kann, ohne auch nicht ein mal das weite, helle Licht der uneingekerkerten Natur erkennen zu wollen . . . Aus den Meisterstücken menschlicher Dichtkunst und Beredsamkeit [sind] Kindereien geworden, an welchen greise Kinder und junge Kinder Phrasen lernen und Regeln klaben. Wir haschen ihre Formalitäten und haben ihren Geist verloren; wir lernen ihre Sprache und fühlen nicht die lebendige Welt ihrer Gedanken. Derselbe Fall ist's mit unserm Urtheilen über das Meisterstück des menschlichen Geistes, die Bildung der Sprache überhaupt. Da soll uns das todte Nachdenken Dinge lehren, die bloss aus dem lebendigen Hauche der Welt, aus dem Geiste der grossen wirksamen Natur den Menschen beseelen, ihn aufrufen und fort bilden konnten. Da sollen die stumpfen, späten Gesetze der Grammatiker das Göttlichste sein, was wir verehren, und vergessen die wahre göttliche Sprachnatur, die sich in ihren Herzen mit dem menschlichen Geiste bildete, so unregelmässig sie auch scheine. Die Sprachbildung ist in die Schatten der Schule gewichen, aus denen sie nichts mehr für die lebendige Welt wirkt: drum soll auch nie eine helle Welt gegeben sein, in der die ersten Sprachenbilder leben, fühlen, schaffen, und dichten mussten.³

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112.

Herder's second natural law carries the development of language one step farther; the first law dealt with the growth of language in the individual, the second is devoted to its development in the family. The law reads: "Man is, according to his nature, a being of the herd, of society: The development of a language is therefore natural, essential, necessary to him."¹ The great physical weakness of the human female as compared with the male, and the utter helplessness of the newborn child, make it absolutely necessary that human beings, even more so than is the case among the animals, form into families, sharing a common abode. The primitive man, more experienced than his mate and offspring, would naturally proceed to teach them that stock of linguistic information which he had himself so laboriously gathered. The child, entirely dependent as he is upon the exertions of his father, would babblingly repeat the sounds uttered in his neighborhood, and in time become inheritor of his parent's entire vocabulary. Arrived at maturity, he would go on enriching the store of linguistic knowledge on the basis of his own experience. In this way the institution of the family becomes an important means for the perpetuation from generation to generation and for the gradual enrichment of language. Moreover, in the very process of teaching, the language becomes more definitely organized, the stock of ideas becomes more and more clearly defined; Herder, indeed, sees in this earliest process of language-instruction the genesis of grammar.

The most interesting portion of the second part of Herder's essay is the discussion of the third natural law, dealing with the rise of nationally distinct languages. Herder formulates his law thus: "Just as the whole race of man could not possibly remain *one* herd, so also it could not retain *one* language. There arises consequently the formation of various national tongues."² Herder begins his discussion by clearly pointing out that, in the exact or, as he terms it, "metaphysical" sense of the word, no two persons speak precisely the same language, any more than they are exact physical counterparts. Setting aside, however, such minute individual differences, it can easily be shown that more distinctly

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124.

marked linguistic groups or dialects would, in the nature of things, form. Every family-group puts its own characteristic stamp upon the inherited linguistic stock; differences of climate work upon the speech-organs, and consequently, Herder supposes, upon the language itself;¹ the preference for different words and turns of expression in different sections of the linguistic field gives rise to dialects. "Original" languages, moreover, being less hampered, according to Herder, by grammatical rules, are more liable to dialectic disintegration than more cultured idioms; although here, too, the most careful modern linguistic research does not unconditionally bear out Herder's presumption. The oft-asserted and oft-repeated statement of the incredibly rapid change of the languages of primitive tribes is founded chiefly on the untrustworthy reports of linguistically inefficient missionaries; many of the extreme statements formerly and even yet current are absurdly untrue. Indeed, the most startling cases of linguistic conservatism are found among certain primitive peoples, such as the Eskimos.

Man, Herder proceeds, with an almost naïve anthropomorphic teleology, is made for all the earth and all the earth for man. Hence we find him at home as well in the regions of eternal snow as under the burning sun of the tropics. As is to be expected, under widely diverse geographical and climatic conditions, the originally homogeneous race of man differentiates into diverse races, while the originally homogeneous speech of man differentiates first into dialects, then, with the lapse of ages, into mutually quite unintelligible languages. Hence is to be explained the bewildering Babel of tongues; as Herder expresses it: "Die Sprache wird ein Proteus auf der runden Oberfläche der Erde."² It is to be borne in mind, of course, that the now familiar conception of independent linguistic stocks was in the main a foreign one to Herder; it did not arise until after a lucky fate discovered the relationship of the idiom of ancient India with that of far-distant Greece and Rome. If Herder's view of the gradual

¹It should be stated here, however, that, contrary to all expectation, anatomical investigation has never succeeded in demonstrating differences of vocal anatomy to be the basis of differences in dialect or language.

²*Op. cit.*, p. 127.

differentiation of speech is correct, we expect to find linguistic modifications congruent to geographic differences. How comes it, then, that totally diverse languages are often found spoken side by side? Herder thinks to be able satisfactorily to explain this puzzling condition by the hatred with which neighboring tribes frequently regard each other. Such discord would operate quite as effectively as geographical barriers toward linguistic isolation. The description of the confusion of tongues in Genesis Herder interprets as a characteristically oriental method of presenting this truth.

The fourth and last *Naturgesetz* reads:

Just as, according to all probability, the human race forms a progressive whole from one origin in one great system; so also all languages, and with them the whole chain of culture.¹

After a brief résumé of the links in the chain of linguistic development—development in the individual, in the family, and in the nation—Herder most emphatically supports a monogenistic view of language as the most rational. His chief reason for the contention is the evident similarity he finds in the grammatical structure of the various languages—a similarity that he believes to be so great as to preclude all possibility of polygenism. The only serious departure from the common grammatical outlines is found, according to Herder, in the case of Chinese, which however, is but an exception. Herder advances as another argument in favor of linguistic monogenism the almost universal use of the same or very similar alphabets. This universality was more apparent in Herder's time than now, for the Egyptian and various cuneiform records had not as yet been deciphered. Still one is rather surprised to find a man of Herder's stamp so lose sight of the perspective of history as to present so lame an argument. One might have expected him to perceive that in any case the formation of written alphabets must have taken place long after independent languages had developed, and that the wide spread of the so-called Phœnician alphabet was due to several stages of borrowing, to a great extent, within historic times.

The latter part of the essay rapidly summarizes the orthodox

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

stand taken by Süssmilch and his followers as against the more philosophical and psychologically sounder view of Herder concerning the origin of language. Herder makes bold to call the orthodox view "nonsense" (*Unsinn*), and accuses its supporters of petty anthropomorphism in their conception of God's activity. On the other hand, he claims:

Der menschliche [Ursprung] zeigt Gott im grössesten Lichte; sein Werk, eine menschliche Seele, durch sich selbst, eine Sprache schaffend und fortschaffend, weil sie sein Werk, eine menschliche Seele ist.¹

At the very end of the essay we find Herder's own statement of his aim, with which I shall close my analysis of his work as a perfectly good formulation of the spirit to be pursued in investigations of such a character even today:

Er [i. e., der Verfasser] befliss sich feste Data aus der menschlichen Seele, der menschlichen Organisation, dem Bau aller alten und wilden Sprachen, und der ganzen Haushaltung des menschlichen Geschlechts zu sammeln, und seinen Satz so zu beweisen, wie die festeste philosophische Wahrheit bewiesen werden kann.²

It is hardly necessary to go into any *general* criticism on Herder's prize essay, particularly as various points in Herder's argument have been the subject of critical comment in the course of our analysis. That much of the work is quite antiquated, both in subject-matter and general attitude, is, of course, self-evident; it is rather to be wondered at how much in the essay is still valid, and with what remarkable intuitive power Herder grasped some of the most vital points both in psychology and language. One wishes that we today could be so cocksure of the solution of certain linguistic problems as Herder seems to have been; but, then, that was characteristic in a large measure of the age of rationalism. The philosophers of the eighteenth century, relying very heavily on pure reason unfettered by hard facts, proceeded, with admirable courage, to attack and solve the most obscure and intricate problems in the history of human culture—problems to the solution of which we have now learned to proceed quite timidly. Some of this blind trust in pure reason is apparent in our prize essay; yet Herder attempted, as much as possible, to make use of what linguistic material was at hand in the verification of his theories.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

It is not necessary, either, to go into any analysis of the literary style of Herder's essay, as the important thing in our subject is not Herder's language, but rather his thought. The characteristic qualities of Herder's style are here in evidence as elsewhere; wealth of figurative expression; a lavish use of rhetorical periods, as outwardly indicated by a generous sprinkling of exclamation points, interrogation points, and dashes (it may be noted that the treatise ends with a dash); and a warm, enthusiastic diction, which often carries the author away from the immediate object of discussion. In general, however, the essay is remarkable, at least when considered as a Herder document, for the systematic development of the theme and for clearness of exposition.

It is certainly very strange, and almost incredible, that one who succeeded so well in demonstrating the human origin of language should himself have later been in doubt as to the validity of his conclusions; yet such was the melancholy case with Herder. When Herder wrote the prize essay, during the latter part of his stay in Strassburg (1770), he was still, in the main, in sympathy with the rationalistic advocates of reason, even though the bloodless *Aufklärung* of a Nicolai was not exactly to his taste. Hence we find in the essay a strong aversion for the mystic and supernatural, and a desire to explain all cultural phenomena in the light of human intelligence. In the early part of his Bückeburg residence, however, Herder's ideas underwent a tremendous change. So radical, indeed, was the transformation effected in his general mental attitude that the *Preisschrift* may be conveniently considered as marking the end of a definitely limited period in Herder's life. The mental change referred to was a break with the older standpoint of "enlightenment" (*Aufklärung*), which had on the whole, despite Hamann's influence, dominated Herder's thoughts, if at times equivocally. He now (1771-72), very largely under the influence of the mystically pious Countess of Bückeburg, leaned toward romanticism, and a philosophy and theology that did not seek the final explanation of things in reason. Hence, when the news reached Herder that he had been awarded the prize, he was anything but elated; the

whole spirit and tendency of his essay were now quite distasteful to him, and belonged already for Herder to the dim past. Despite the change in Herder, congratulations on the winning of the prize came in from all sides; "the townspeople," he writes, "regard me as the most celebrated of men because I have now gained the prize."¹ These congratulations, as might well be expected under the circumstances, brought Herder more vexation than satisfaction.

At Easter of the year 1772, Herder's former preceptor, Hamann, who had not corresponded with his disciple since the latter had left Riga, and from whom Herder had in the meanwhile become somewhat estranged, intellectually speaking, wrote a cold and hostile review of the *Ursprung der Sprache* in the *Königsberger Journal*. Though many ideas developed in the essay had been largely inspired by suggestions of Hamann himself, nevertheless Herder's flat denial of the direct agency of God in the invention of language was by no means to the other's taste. The stand taken by Hamann is well summarized by Nevins: "God might act through nature and the voices of beasts, but from God language, as all else, must come, for in God we live and move and have our being."² Herder felt the sting of criticism all the more keenly in that he was now largely in sympathy with Hamann's views, and felt drawn toward his former teacher more powerfully than ever. Through the mediation of their mutual friend, Hartknoch, a reconciliation was effected between the two, Herder recanting the heresies of which he had been guilty. In a second and more favorable review, and in a treatise entitled *The Last Words of the Red-Cross Knight on the Divine or Human Origin of Language*, Hamann clearly shows that the friends of old were friends again. Perhaps nothing can prove more clearly the unhealthy element in the mysticism of Herder's Bückeburg period than his amazing repudiation of the doctrines he had himself so unanswerably demonstrated. For a time he occupied himself with the thought of adding some words of explanation and semi-apology to the essay, published by authority of the Academy in 1772, but nothing came of the plan. Fritz Mauthner,

¹ See Nevins, *Herder and His Times*, p. 185.

² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

in the work already referred to, speaks impatiently of Herder's inconstancy:

Herder bringt sich um jeden Kredit, wenn er seine Preisschrift schon 1772 (in einem Brief an Hamann) als "Schrift eines Witztölpels" verleugnet; die Denkart dieser Preisschrift könne und solle auf ihn so wenig Einfluss haben, als das Bild, das er jetzt an die Wand nagle. Da ist es denn kein Wunder, wenn Herder in der Folgezeit den lieben Gott wieder um die Erfindung der Sprache bemüht.¹

Certainly disingenuous is Herder's statement, in the long letter of explanation addressed to Hamann, that after all he had not seriously differed from his preceptor, and that in writing for "an enlightened royal Prussian Academy"² he had been forced to put on the mask of the "Leibnitzian æsthetic form."³ After Herder had freed himself from the mists of Bückeburg mysticism, a reversal in judgment set in in favor of his earlier comparatively rationalistic views, so that, when seventeen years later, in 1788-89, he prepared a second edition of the *Preisschrift*, he found little to change in the text, save in the matter of chastening the wildness of the language. We may then safely look upon our *Preisschrift* as the most important and genuine expression of Herder's views upon the subject of language.

Concerning the influence of Herder's prize essay on subsequent linguistic speculation it is difficult to speak definitely, from the very nature of Herder's work. Herder did not, as we have seen, definitely systematize, nor could his solution of the problem be considered in any way final; his own subsequent vacillation shows, perhaps more clearly than anything else, the unsatisfactory nature of much of the reasoning. Contradictions even of no small significance and lack of clearness in the terms used will have been noticed in the course of our exposition of Herder's essay; the weak points in it, both when judged from the standpoint of Herder's own time and from that of the post-Humboldtian and pre-evolutionary view-point of the sixties, are probably best pointed out by the psychologist and linguistic philosopher, H. Steinthal, in his *Ursprung der Sprache*. Setting aside faults in the essay itself, it is evident that the new vistas of

¹ F. Mauthner, "Zur Sprachwissenschaft" (Vol. II of *Kritik der Sprache*), pp. 47-50.

² See Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

³ *Ibid.*

linguistic thought opened up by the work of Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt, and the more special labors of Bopp and Grimm, speedily relegated Herder's treatise to the limbo of things that were, so that even as early as the period at which Steinthal and Grimm wrote their works on the origin of language, Herder's *Preisschrift* had already become of chiefly historical interest. The real historic significance, then, of Herder's work would be shown to lie in the general service it rendered by compelling a sounder study of the psychologic and historic elements involved in the investigation of the problem, and perhaps also in the suggestions it gave Humboldt for his far deeper treatment of the same and closely allied themes.

Perhaps the best testimony which could be offered on the subject of Herder's more general influence is the following quotation from Jacob Grimm at the close of his own work on the origin of language:

Enden kann ich nicht, ohne vorher dem Genius des Mannes zu huldigen, der was ihm an Tiefe der Forschung oder Strenge der Gelehrsamkeit abging, durch sinnvollen Tact, durch reges Gefühl der Wahrheit ersetzend, wie manche andere, auch die schwierige Frage nach der Sprache Ursprung bereits so erledigt hatte, dass seine ertheilte Antwort immer noch zutreffend bleibt, when sie gleich mit anderen Gründen, als ihm schon dafür zu Gebote standen, aufzustellen und bestätigen ist.¹

On his immediate contemporaries the prize essay doubtless made a deep impression. To Goethe, who was just at that time under Herder's personal influence, the author showed the essay while still in manuscript. Goethe had not thought very much about the subject, and was inclined to consider it as somewhat superfluous. "For," he says, "if man was of divine origin, so was language; and, if man must be regarded in the circle of nature, language must also be natural. Still, I read the treatise with great pleasure and to my special edification."²

The extent and even existence of Herder's influence on Humboldt, on the other hand, is a disputed question. It is all the more important because practically all the later thought on the philosophy of language (Steinthal, Schleicher, and others) is

¹ Jacob Grimm, *Über den Ursprung der Sprache* (Berlin, 1852), p. 56.

² See Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

connected quite directly with Humboldt's ideas developed in his *Über das vergleichende Sprachstudium in Beziehung auf die verschiedenen Epochen der Sprachentwicklung*, and still more in the *Einleitung in die Kawisprache: über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung der Menschengeschichte*. Steinthal, himself an enthusiastic follower and developer of Humboldtian views, most emphatically denies any indebtedness on Humboldt's part to Herder.¹

Haym, Herder's biographer, on the other hand, just as emphatically asserts the perceptible influence of Herder in Humboldt's writings, and claims that the latter is most decidedly to be considered as standing on his predecessor's shoulders. He says:

Er [i. e., Humboldt] wiederholt die Gedanken Herder's—er vertieft, er verfeinert, er bestimmt, er klärt sie, er denkt das von jenem gleichsam athemlos Gedachte mit ruhig verweilender Umsicht zum zweiten Male nach und durch.²

He goes on to show how, as with Herder, so also with Humboldt, man is "ein singendes Geschöpf, aber Gedanken mit den Tönen verbindend";³ language is to Humboldt very much as to Herder, "die natürliche Entwicklung einer den Menschen als solchen bezeichnenden Anlage."⁴ To Humboldt the chief task of general linguistics is the consideration from a single point of view of the apparently infinite variety of languages, "und durch alle Umwandlungen der Geschichte hindurch dem Gange der geistigen Entwicklung der Menschheit an der Hand der tief in dieselbe verschlungenen, sie von Stufe zu Stufe begleitenden Sprache zu folgen."⁵ This is evidently little else than a more satisfactory and scientific formulation of Herder's idea of the gradual growth of language in concomitance with the growth of *Besonnenheit*. On the whole, I should be inclined, in view of the greater probability of the historic continuity of ideas, to side with Haym. A comprehensive statement of the position that Herder occupies in the history of linguistics is given by Lauchert.⁶

¹ H. Steinthal, *Der Ursprung der Sprache* (Berlin, 1858), p. 12.

² Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken dargestellt*, p. 408.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ F. Lauchert, "Die Anschauungen Herders über den Ursprung der Sprache," *Euphorien*, Vol. I, p. 766.

Es genüge, darauf hingewiesen zu haben, dass die neuere Sprachphilosophie, soweit sie einerseits nicht auf dem Boden des positiven Christentums und der Schöpfungslehre desselben steht, andererseits aber auch noch nicht auf dem der modernen naturalistisch-materialistischen Weltanschauung, direkt oder indirekt unter Herder's Einfluss steht.

As the last general linguist to discuss language problems from the standpoint that maintained the existence of a wide, impassable gulf between man and the lower animals, and stoutly denied any genetic relationship between animal cries and the rude beginnings of human speech, should perhaps be mentioned Max Müller. Like Herder and Humboldt, he saw in language the distinguishing mark that separated man from the brute world, and was never tired, to the end of his days, of arguing that this possession of language was the death-blow to Darwinism. The idea of the interrelation of language and reason, and of their simultaneous growth, common to Herder and Humboldt, we find pushed to its utmost limit by Max Müller. So impressed was he by this theory of the essential identity of language and reason that his slogan in later days was: "Without reason no language; without language no reason."¹ As is well known, his assertion of this principle brought on a fruitless logomachy with William Dwight Whitney. Despite Max Müller, however, it seems to me that the path for future work on the prime problems, more especially the origin, of language lies in the direction pointed out by evolution. A new element, the careful and scientific study of sound-reflexes in higher animals, must now enter into the discussion. Perhaps this, with a very extended study of *all* the various existing stocks of languages, in order to determine the most *fundamental* properties of language, may assist materially in ultimately rendering our problem more tractable. We should not only try to imagine to what beginnings the present state of language reaches back, but also to reconstruct an ideal picture of the evolution of howls and cries, under the favoring conditions, whatever those were, into less rude forms of audible expression. Perhaps the ends of the two series can be bridged over?

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¹ See, e. g., title-page of M. Müller's *Science of Thought* (New York, 1887).

A FEW PARALLELS FROM THE CLASSICS

SHAKESPEARE AND SENECA

That Shakespeare was acquainted with Seneca is a priori probable and approaches nearer to proof with every new parallel or coincidence noted. "And earthly power doth then show likest God's," etc., has been recently discovered in *De clementia*, iii-v. Hardly less plausible is the parallel which I have observed between the speech of Constance in *King John*, Act III, scene iv, and a passage of the *Consolatio ad Marciam*, 1, 5. Constance says:

Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me,
.....
Then, have I reason to be fond of grief.

With a precisely similar conceit Seneca writes: *teneas licet et amplexeris dolorem tuum, quem tibi in filii locum superstitem fecisti*. Similarly Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ix, 112, *et amat pro conjugē luctum*. Shakespeare has merely expanded the fancy with Elizabethan exuberance.

MILTON AND CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Milton's "bright countenance of Truth" (*The Reason of Church Government*) has become a familiar quotation. It is a translation of ἀληθείας δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ φαιδρὸν in the second paragraph of the *Protrepticus* of Clement of Alexandria.

DANIEL AND SENECA

Daniel's well-worn,
 unless above himself he can
 Erect himself, how poor a thing is man,
seems to be a translation of *O quam res est contempta homo, nisi supra humana surrexerit*, in the *Prologus* to Seneca's "Natural Questions." The lines quoted by Lowell ("Democracy") from "Musophilus,"

That few is all the world, which with a few
Doth ever live and move and work and strive,

are obviously suggested by Lucan's "*Humanum paucis vivit genus*" (*Pharsalia*, v, 343).

Lucan is out of favor now, but has been much read in the past. For example, the lines in Jonson's *Sejanus*, II, 2,

As if there were that chaos bred in things,
That laws and liberty would not rather choose
To be quite broken and ta'en hence by us
Than have the stain to be preserved by such,

are obviously a paraphrase of

non usque adeo permiscuit imis
Longus summa dies, ut non si voce Metelli
Serventur leges, malint a Caesare tolli.

Symonds selects for special praise in the "Misfortunes of Arthur" the vigorous lines:

Yea though I conqueror die and full of fame,
Yet let my death and parture rest obscure.
No grave I need, O fates, nor burial rites,
Nor stately hearse, nor tomb with haughty top;
But let my carcase lurk; yea let my death
Be aye unknown so that in every coast
I still be feared and looked for every hour.

He fails to observe that they are a translation of Lucan, *Pharsalia*, v, 668 ff.

mihi funere nullo
est opus, o superi: lacerum retinete cadaver
Fluctibus in mediis: desint mihi busta rogosque,
Dum metuar semper, terraque exspecter ab omni.

These are but a few casual illustrations of how what we disparagingly dub "Silver Latinity" has been unsuspectingly accepted as golden English.

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